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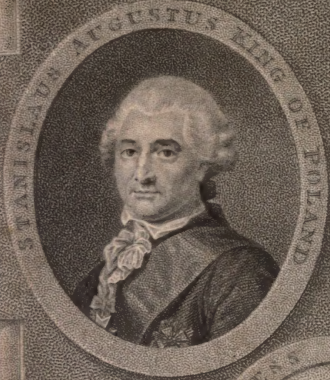

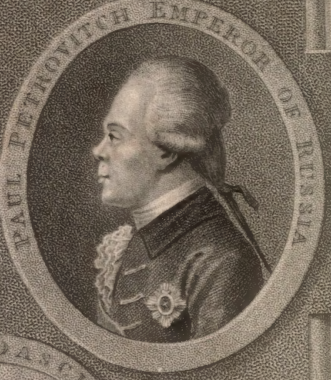

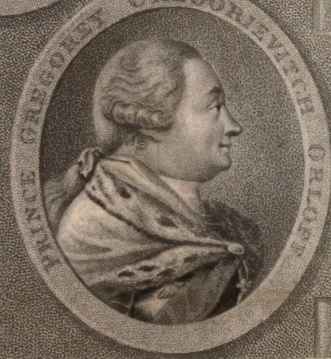

J. Chapman sc.

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THE

LIFE

OF

CATHARINE II.

EMPRESS OF RUSSIA.

WITH ELEVEN ELEGANT PORTRAITS,
A VIEW OF THE FORTRESS OF SCHLUSSELBURG,
AND A CORRECT MAP OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

THE FOURTH EDITION,

WITH GREAT ADDITIONS, AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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LIFE

OF THE

EMPRESS CATHARINE II.

CHAP. VII.

The ottoman porte declares war againſt Ruſſia.—Prince Henry of Pruſſia at Peterſburg.—A ruſſian ſquadron, under the command of count Alexius Orlof, ſails to the Archipelago.—Victories of count Romantzof.—Capture of Bender.—Count Alexius Orlof returns to Peterſburg.—His conduct in Italy.—Prince Dolgoruky enters the Krimea.—Peſtilence at Moſco.—Attempt to aſſaſſinate the king of Poland.—Congreſs at Fokſhiani.—Vaſſilchikof becomes favourite of the empreſs.—Gregory Orlof is diſmiſſed from court; with other events from 1768 *to* 1772.

ON the firſt menaces held out by Turkey, Catharine, who felt herſelf not yet in a condition to make war with advantage, ſuſpended the ſettlement of the limits between Ruſſia and Poland; without, however, abandoning the hope of ſeiz-

ing on a part of that kingdom, where her officers were continually haraſſing and dividing the inhabitants. The flattering and ſanguine expectations which had been formed on the concluſions of the late diet, and the intervention of the Ruſſians in the affairs of the republic, were totally overthrown almoſt as ſoon as they were conceived; and that unfortunate country became the theatre of the moſt cruel and complicated of all wars; partly civil, partly religious, and partly foreign. Indeed the meaſures relative to the diet, as well as thoſe which had for ſome time paſt directed all the tranſactions in that country, ſeemed pregnant with ſuch ſeeds of diſcontent, as might well be expected to produce, ſooner or later, ſome very extraordinary conſequences. We have ſeen a foreign army, under colour of friendſhip, take poſſeſſion of a country to which no juſt claim was even pretended; we have ſeen them, for a courſe of years, peremptorily dictate to the members of a once great and free nation the meaſures they ſhould purſue, and the laws they ſhould eſtabliſh for their own internal government; and we have ſeen them ſeize the ſenators of that nation, and ſend them priſoners to a foreign country, for daring to have an opinion in their own national councils. It is not then to be wondered at, that the Poles, a brave and haughty nation, long nurſed in independence, and whoſe nobles had exerciſed in their reſpective diſtricts an almoſt unlimited

ſovereignty, ſhould ill brook a ſubmiſſion to ſuch unnatural acts of foreign power.

The conſequences were accordingly fatal. The reſentment excited by patriotiſm from a ſenſe of national injury and diſhonour, being embittered and enflamed by the ſpirit of cruelty and animoſity, which is almoſt always inſeparable from religious diſputes, that unhappy country exhibited, in the courſe of the year 1768, the ſcenes of horror, calamity, and deſolation, which are the common concomitants of civil war. Citizen deſtroying citizen, foreigners drenching the vaſt plains of a great country in the beſt blood of its inhabitants, and the fields covered with the unburied bodies of thoſe who uſed to till them, are but a part of the horrors of this dreadful picture. Some that were moſt impatient of the ruffian yoke at ſeveral times attacked their armies. Encouraged by Auſtria, and particularly by France, they made themſelves maſters of the city of Cracow, of a part of Podolia, and united in the fortreſs of Bar, the name whereof was then given to that confederation, which became ſo famous by its enormities and its misfortunes. The empreſs cauſed reinforcements of the troops to enter Poland, giving the command of them to lieutenant-general Soltikof. The affrighted confederates made a ſecond application to the Turks. The count de Vergennes, being informed of this ſtep, renewed his remonſtrances to the divan, to determine it to

ſuccour the Poles, and to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of Catharine: in which he ſucceeded. The ambaſſador of that princeſs was ſhut up in the priſon of ſeven towers; and the reis effendi delivered to the foreign miniſters a manifeſto*, by which the grand ſignior declared war againſt Ruſſia, accuſing it of having infringed the treaties, and violated the territory of the ottoman empire. The Turks at the ſame time, announced that they were about to open the campaign with an army of five hundred thouſand men.

It does not appear that the court of Ruſſia was at all deſirous of entering into this war, if peace could have been poſſibly preſerved, without giving up its favourite ſyſtem in Poland; and the occaſional diſorders committed by its troops on the ottoman frontiers, do not ſeem to have proceeded from any fixed deſign of giving umbrage to that court; at leaſt till matters were carried to ſuch lengths, that there were no longer any hopes of preſerving harmony. There is no doubt, however, but that this court foreſaw that war would be the probable conſequence of its conduct in that country; an event, which the repeated remonſtrances of the porte, and the anxiety it ſhewed at the purſuit of thoſe meaſures, ſufficiently indicated. It was accordingly well prepared for this event; its armies were in good condition, its

* This manifeſto was incloſed in a purſe. See the appendix, No. VIII. at the end of this volume.

ſtores and magazines well provided, and the diſpoſition of its troops ſuch, that they might be readily aſſembled in bodies upon the frontiers.

The empreſs dreaded now neither the threats nor the undiſciplined multitudes of the ottoman forces. On the contrary, ſhe ſhewed great dignity and firmneſs. Upon the occaſion of the arreſt of her miniſter * at Conſtantinople, ſhe loudly juſtified his conduct, and applauded his ſpirit in not making any humiliating conceſſions, or ſubmitting to conditions that were derogatory to the honour and glory of the empire.

The conduct of the grand ſignior, in regard to the tranſactions in Poland, was blameleſs and irreproachable, and entirely conſiſtent with the character of a good neighbour and faithful ally. The affairs of that country had, for ſome years paſt, greatly attracted the attention of the porte; nor could it indeed have been an indifferent ſpectator of the meaſures there lately purſued. The great and growing power of the ruſſian empire, and the ſupreme aſcendant it had acquired in all the tranſactions of the north, were in themſelves ſufficient objects of jealouſy to ſo near a neighbour. But the almoſt abſolute dominion which it had lately acquired, and the unlimited authority it exerciſed, in ſo conſiderable and extenſive a country, and poſſeſſed of ſuch great natural power,

* The 12th of October 1768.

as Poland, was an object of ſuch moment, as the ſultan could not poſſibly have overlooked, without giving up every pretenſion to true policy, and even to common prudence.

In fact, while its kings were elected, its laws paſſed, and its ſtates governed under the influence of a ruſſian army, Poland could be conſidered in no other light than as a province to that empire; and the ſplendid titles of kingdom and republic were only a mockery and cruel inſult on its degradation. The Poles might have urged, and the Turks might have been convinced, that the pretences of fulfilling treaties, protecting the diſſidents, and guarding the freedom of election, was an uſeful ſort of official language, which made a very good figure on paper, and had a plauſible effect in manifeſtos, to the vulgar, or to thoſe who were but little concerned. But theſe gloſſes could bear no political teſt of examination; as reaſons of the ſame or a ſimilar nature might be everlaſtingly found for the keeping of an army in any country, under pretence of friendſhip or protection, and at the ſame time converting it to all the purpoſes of a conquered province. In truth, the ſame reaſons would have held, for ſending a ruſſian army to Conſtantinople, to protect the divan, to prevent riots among the janiſſaries, and to reſtore the chriſtians in that empire to their ancient rights and privileges.

There

There is no doubt but that the applications which had been repeatedly made for ſome years paſt by numbers of the poliſh nobility to the grand ſignior, had their weight with him. The propoſals lately made by the nobility of Podolia and ſome other provinces, who, it was ſaid, had offered to put themſelves and their countries under the turkiſh government upon certain conditions, muſt alſo have been flattering to the ambition of that prince. Without entering farther into the motives, it is certain that the preparations for the war in the turkiſh empire exceeded any thing of the ſame nature that had been known for more than an age; that no expence was ſpared in the military departments; and that the ſultan himſelf attended to every thing with a care and aſſiduity which ſufficiently ſhewed how deeply he intereſted himſelf in the conſequences.

Catharine, however, had loſt no time in preparing for her defence; and her preparations were formidable. Accordingly, ſhe cauſed a manifeſto to be delivered to all the miniſters of the powers neutral or allied, and publiſhed a declaration of war, with the uſual forms, in the public places of Peterſburg.

1769. The ruſſian armies began to march, and ſoon extended from the banks of the Danube to thoſe of the river Kuban. The Tartars of the Krimea, who had embraced the party of the Turks, were the firſt againſt whom the armies of Catha-

rine displayed their prowess. General Izaakof drove twelve thousand of them out of New Servia, which they had entered under the command of their khan *. Masters of Azof and Taganrok, the Russians put these two places into a condition of resisting their ancient possessors, and laboured with unremitted industry, in augmenting the little squadrons, which have since given them the dominion of the Euxine.

The kozaks of the Ukraine penetrated into Moldavia. Prince Gallitzin, who commanded the principal body of the russian army, passed the Dniestr, and attacked thirty thousand Turks even under the ramparts of Khotyim; but he was repulsed; and the conquerors pursued him to the other side of the river.

That general then published a manifesto, inviting all the Poles, who were not of the confederation of Bar, to take arms against that confederation. Soltikof had already solemnly announced to his army, that such officers or soldiers as should take a confederate, and grant him his life, should be severely punished.

Such is the faint view which our limits allow us to take of the situation of affairs in that unhappy country. A nearer inspection would represent a picture more disgraceful to human nature; sullied with the most dreadful exorbitances, and stained with the most horrid cruelties. These charges

* In the month of March 1769.

were

were at the time reciprocally made; and it is to be feared with too much truth on both ſides. One inſtance however deſerves to be particularly marked, in hopes that it may ſtand as a perpetual record of the infamy of the perpetrator.

Nine poliſh gentlemen, whoſe arms had been cut off at the wriſts, preſented in the capital city of their native country this new and ſhocking ſpectacle: a ſpectacle that would diſgrace a nation of ſavages, and that, even amongſt them, would excite every latent ſeed of pity, indignation, and horror, into action. The ruſſian general Drevitch was the deteſted author of this inhuman and execrable act; and ſome accounts ſtate him to have been the immediate operator in it. The barbarian had acted in the double capacity of their judge and their executioner.

Catharine recalled from Warſaw prince Repnin, whoſe arrogance was diſguſting to all the Poles, without even excepting the warmeſt partizans of Ruſſia. That ambaſſador was ſucceeded by prince Volkonſky *; who exerted himſelf in vain to effect the re-confederation already propoſed in the manifeſto of prince Gallitzin. The empreſs clearly ſaw how dangerous it would be for her, if all the Poles ſhould unite againſt the Ruſſians. But the efforts of her generals and the intrigues of her mi-

* Mikhaila Nikititch Volkonſky, nephew of the famous chancellor Beſtuchef. He was afterwards made governor of Moſco.

niſters

niſters were now of leſs ſervice to her than the weakneſs and inattention of the court of Verſailles. If that court had been ſo inclined, the confederation of Bar would have been generalized, the porte powerfully defended, and Poland ſtill have been in the number of the powers of Europe *.

Long before the plan for the partition of Poland was put into execution, the empreſs and the king of Pruſſia equally felt the neceſſity of conferring on that grand deſign. But, thinking that an interview between them would not fail of giving umbrage to the other potentates, and that they might perhaps find means for diſcovering the motives of it, they thought it moſt adviſable to decline it altogether. Frederic, then giving his inſtructions to prince Henry, his brother, charged him with a commiſſion to go to Ruſſia. The better to conceal the object of his journey, prince Henry gave out, that he intended only to make a viſit to his ſiſter the queen of Sweden. While he was at Stockholm, he mentioned that he ſhould

* In order to raiſe all Poland in one confederacy, the very eloquent and very able general Mokronoſky requeſted of the duke de Choiſeul no more than two million livres tournois as a ſubſidy, the acknowledgment of count Vilheorſky as miniſter of the confederation of Bar, and the miſſion of an agent to it, commiſſioned to ſee that the ſubſidies were well applied. The duke de Choiſeul approved of the plan; but was diſſuaded from it by the court of Vienna, who had doubtleſs already formed ſecret views, as the partition of Poland afterwards made it appear.

return

return to Pruſſia by the way of Denmark. But all at once he ſeemed to change his reſolution, and yield, from complaiſance to Catharine; who, hearing that he was ſo near her dominions, gave him preſſing invitations to come and ſee her at Peterſburg. Thus, though prince Henry had quitted Berlin in no other deſign than to proceed to Ruſſia, he found means to make it believed that he was now going upon an unpremeditated journey.

Prince Henry embarked at Stockholm in a galley*, that conveyed him as far as Abo, the capital of Finland. Thence he repaired to Peterſburg. A chamberlain of the empreſs was diſpatched to meet him on the frontiers of Ruſſia. General Bibikof received him at the laſt ſtation, before the entrance of Peterſburg, and conducted him to the palace that had been prepared for his reception, and where the miniſter Panin was waiting for him. The prince entered Peterſburg under a diſcharge of cannon, and every where received the ſame honours that are paid to ſovereigns.

1770. The next day he preſented himſelf at court with a numerous ſuite, and dined in public with the empreſs. All that paſſed this day was conducted with the moſt rigorous attention to

* The prince royal of Sweden, who reigned afterwards under the name of Guſtavus III. and prince Frederic his brother, paſſed the firſt day in the galley with prince Henry. The duke of Sudermania was at that time in France.

ceremony;

ceremony; but afterwards all etiquette was banished; and the empress and the prince met and discoursed with each other without the smallest restraint.

Every day was marked with some festivity or some new entertainment*. It would be superfluous

* One of these is described in a letter from Mr. Richardson, then at Petersburg: "I saw him [prince Henry] a few nights ago at a masquerade in the palace, said to be the most magnificent thing of the kind ever seen at the russian court. Fourteen large rooms and galleries were opened for the accommodation of the masks; and I was informed that there were present several thousand people. A great part of the company wore dominos, or capuchin dresses: though, besides these, some fanciful appearances afforded a good deal of amusement. A very tall kozak appeared completely arrayed in the "hauberk's twisted mail." He was indeed very grim and martial. Persons in emblematical dresses, representing Apollo and the Seasons, addressed the empress in speeches suited to their characters. The empress herself, at the time I saw her majesty, wore a grecian habit; though I was afterwards told, that she varied her dress two or three times during the masquerade. Prince Henry of Prussia wore a white domino. Several persons appeared in the dresses of Chinese, Turks, Persians, and Armenians. The most humourous and fantastical figure was a Frenchman, who with wonderful nimbleness and dexterity, represented an overgrown, but very beautiful parrot. He chattered with a great deal of spirit; and his shoulders, covered with green feathers, performed admirably the part of the wings. He drew the attention of the empress: a ring was formed, he was quite happy; fluttered his plumage; made fine speeches in russ, french, and tolerable english: the ladies were exceedingly diverted; every body laughed but prince Henry, who stood beside the empress, and was so grave and so solemn, that he would have

fluous to enter into the particulars of any, except the feſtival that was given at Tzarſko-ſelo; the magni-

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have performed his part moſt admirably in the ſhape of an owl. The parrot obſerved him; was determined to have revenge; and, having ſaid as many good things as he could to her majeſty, he was hopping away: but juſt as he was going out of the circle, ſeeming to recollect himſelf, he ſtopped, looked over his ſhoulder at the formal prince, and quite in the parrot tone and french accent, he addreſſed him moſt emphatically with Henri! Henri! Henri! and then, diving into the crowd, diſappeared. His royal highneſs was diſconcerted; he was forced to ſmile in his own defence, and the company were not a little amuſed. At midnight a ſpacious hall of a circular form, capable of containing a vaſt number of people, and illuminated in the moſt magnificent manner, was ſuddenly opened. Twelve tables were placed in alcoves around the ſides of the room, where the empreſs, prince Henry, and one hundred and fifty of the chief nobility and foreign miniſters, ſat down to ſupper. The reſt of the company went up by ſtairs on the outſide of the room, into the lofty galleries all round the inſide. Such a row of maſked viſages, many of them with groteſque features and buſhy beards, nodding from the ſide of the wall, appeared very ludicrous to thoſe below. The entertainment was enlivened by a concert of muſic; and at different intervals perſons in various habits entered the hall, and exhibited kozak, chineſe, poliſh, ſwediſh, and tartar dances. The whole was ſo gorgeous, and at the ſame time ſo fantaſtic, that I could not help thinking myſelf preſent at ſome of the magnificent feſtivals deſcribed in the old-faſhioned romances:

——the marſhal'd feaſt
Served up in hall with ſewers and ſeneſchals.

The reſt of the company, on returning to the rooms adjoining, found prepared for them alſo a ſumptuous banquet. The maſquerade began at ſix in the evening, and continued till five next morning.

magnificence of which is deserving to be remembered.

Tzarsko-selo, or the seat of the tzars, the fixed summer-residence of Catharine II. lies in an open, pleasant country, deversified by gentle elevations and spots of forest, at the distance of twenty-four versts from Petersburg. The space of the whole grounds belonging to the palace comprises four hundred and twenty thousand square fathoms. This princely seat owes its origin to Catharine I. and its extention and embellishment to the empress Elizabeth; but for its elegant completion and the

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morning.—Besides the masquerade and other festivities, in honour and for the diversion of prince Henry, we had lately a most magnificent show of fire-works. They were exhibited in a wide space before the winter palace; and in truth, "beggared description." They displayed, by a variety of emblematical figures, the reduction of Moldavia, Vallakhia, Bessarabia, and the various conquests and victories atchieved since the commencement of the present war. The various colours, the bright green, and the snowy white, exhibited in these fire-works, were truly astonishing. For the space of twenty minutes, a tree adorned with the loveliest and most verdant foliage, seemed to be waving as with a gentle breeze. It was entirely of fire; and during the whole of this stupendous scene, an arch of fire, by the continued throwing of rockets and fire balls in one direction, formed as it were a suitable canopy. On this occasion a prodigious multitude of people was assembled; and the empress, it was surmised, seemed uneasy. She was afraid, it was apprehended, lest any accident, like what happened at Paris at the marriage of the dauphin, should befal her beloved people." Anecdotes of the russian empire, p. 327.

greater

greater part of its preſent magnificence, it is indebted to the creative reign of Catharine II.

The columns that mark the verſts on the road from town to Tzarſko-ſelo, are like thoſe on the Peterhof road, of marble, jaſper, and granite. On the two ſides of the way are eleven hundred globular lamps, which on public occaſions, when the court is at Tzarſko-ſelo, are lighted. Along the road the traveller is entertained with the view of private gardens and country houſes, though neither in number nor elegance and diverſity to be compared with thoſe on the road to Peterhof. Between the ſixth and ſeventh verſt-ſtones are ſeen the walls of the palace of Tſcheſmè, riſing from a ſwampy plain overgrown with buſhes. This palace which is in the form of a triangle, is built entirely in the old gothic taſte, with ornaments of that ſtyle, lofty windows, painted glaſs, little turrets. The inſide is remarkable for a very good collection of portraits of all the princes of Europe that were reigning about the year 1775, and their families, the greater part whereof were preſents from the ſeveral princes themſelves. The grounds about it are laid out in the engliſh manner.

Five or ſix verſts farther on is a village of german coloniſts; after which there is no other object of conſequence, till, at the extremity of a thick foreſt, Tzarſko-ſelo, the grandeſt of all the imperial palaces, appears. On the left hand is the wall of the park, and oppoſite two lofty portals, practiſed through

through a ſteep and rugged artificial rock, on the top of the higheſt whereof is a chineſe temple. On paſſing through this entrance, on the right hand is a canal, beyond it the palace, and on the left is a chineſe village, through which the road lies over a chineſe bridge into the park. The road extends to the neighbouring town of Sophia, through a coloſſal gate of caſt iron. The palace itſelf forms an amphitheatre, with the building oppoſite to the principal front. On the eaſt ſide of the garden are two rows of large houſes for the people belonging to the palace, and for the entertainment of travellers.

The outſide of the palace is grand from its magnitude, and dazzling by its gilded ornaments. It conſiſts of three ſtories, and has a wing on either ſide, one of which is the chapel, and the other the imperial baths. The central part was inhabited by her majeſty. Here a marble ſtaircaſe leads up to the ſecond ſtory, in which are the ſtate apartments to the ſide of the court-yard, and the proper dwelling-rooms look to the gardens. The generality of the former are elegantly fitted up, and their furniture is of the richeſt and coſtlieſt materials of every kind, and with ſuch magnificence, that travellers, after viſiting other countries, unanimouſly declare, they know nothing of the kind with which it can be compared. A deſcription of theſe, with the gardens, will certainly not be expected here; as it would require a peculiar work of ſeveral volumes

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for that purpoſe. Only this cannot be overlooked, that Catharine, amidſt the creations of her capacious mind, had here devoted a little temple of ſimple architecture to ſolitary retirement and calm reflection, in which, ſurrounded by books and the beautiful ſcenery of nature, ſhe ſometimes forgot her immenſe ſphere of action, to indulge in the quiet enjoyments of meditation.

From the ſouth wing of the palace projects an arcade, fifty fathoms in length, over which is a covered colonnade of marble columns.—The gardens are laid out in the engliſh manner, and are unuſually ſpacious. Among the remarkable works in these gardens that are ſuſceptible of deſcription are principally the following objects: a ſmall temple, containing a choice collection of antique and modern ſtatues; a ſolitude for a rural repaſt; together with a hermitage; a ſuperb bath, which may vie with any thing that ancient Rome could produce; picturesque ruins; a little town, with its ſtreets and ſquares, &c. in memory of the taking poſſeſſion of Tavrida, with many others. Two artificial lakes, connected by a rivulet, acroſs which is a marble bridge, copied from that in Stowe-gardens. On an iſland in one of theſe lakes is a turkiſh moſque, on the other a ſpacious hall for muſical entertainments. In a wood appears a pyramid of granite in the ægyptian form, in the neighbourhood of which are two lofty columns.

Tzarſko-ſelo, the magnificent ſanctuary of nature and art, pretends alſo to be the grandeſt temple of merit. Formed of the radical mountains of our earth, monuments of great atchievements here tower aloft, fearleſs of the deſtructive revolutions of time. A marble obeliſk records the victory near Kagul, and the conqueror Romantzof-Sadunaiſkoï. To the day of Tſcheſinè and the hero Orlof-Tſcheſmenſkoï a marble pillar on a pedeſtal of granite is dedicated. A superb triumphal arch proclaims the patriotic courage of prince Orlof, with which he oppoſed himſelf to the inſurrection and the peſtilence that raged in the capital, and overcame them both. A roſtral column perpetuates the conqueſt of the Morea and the name Feodor Orlof. The reſt of the gardens are filled with objects that keep the admiration of the beholder on its utmoſt ſtretch.

It was at this grand ſeat of magnificence and taſte, that Catharine gave the famous entertainment to prince Henry of Prussia. At the coming on of the night, the empreſs, the grand duke, prince Henry, and ſeveral perſons of the court, to the number of ſixteen, ſeated themſelves in an immenſe ſledge drawn by ſixteen horſes, covered and incloſed by double glaſſes, which reflected the numberleſs images of the objects both within and without. The ſledge, followed by upwards of two thouſand others, ſet out from Peterſburg: every perſon

perſon of the whole company being masked, and dreſſed either in a fancy-habit or a domino.

At the diſtance of two verſts from town, the train of ſledges paſſed under a grand triumphal arch, illuminated with lamps of various colours, and adorned with tranſparent emblems. At every ſucceeding verſt was ſome grand ſtructure, a pyramid of lamps, a magnificent temple, illuminated colonnades, or fireworks in full diſplay; and oppoſite to theſe at every verſt on the other ſide of the road was a houſe of public entertainment erected for the purpoſe, where ruſtics of both ſexes, ſhepherds and ſhepherdeſſes, were ſeen dancing and amuſing themſelves in various ways as at a country wake: every public-houſe of this ſort repreſenting ſome different nation, all the people being habited in the dreſs of the country the inhabitants of which they perſonated; the muſic and the dances likewiſe in ſtrict conformity with the habits. At other intervals, vaulting, tumbling, interludes, &c. were performing.

At about two verſts from the palace of Tzarſkoſelo a high mountain roſe to view, ſeen through an avenue cut in the wood, repreſenting mount Veſuvius during an eruption, darting torrents of flames, and illuminating the atmoſphere to a great diſtance. This artificial eruption continued during all the time the ſledges paſſed in ſight of the mountain, till they entered the lofty portal through the rock into the chineſe village, and proceeded to the palace.

The inside of the palace of Tzarsko-selo was lighted by an infinite number of wax-lights. In various apartments the company danced two hours. All at once a grand discharge of cannon was heard, on which the ball ceased, the candles were extinguished, and all the people ran to the windows, where they enjoyed the sight of magnificent fireworks the whole length of the palace. This having lasted for some time, a thundering discharge of artillery was heard again; when all the candles were alight once more as if by enchantment, and a splendid supper was already served up. After rising from table, the dances were renewed and continued till a late hour in the morning.

Catharine, during the whole of her reign, gave frequent entertainments to the public, which, though inferior to this, were yet conducted with a magnificence not to be exceeded in any court of Europe.

Prince Henry, during his stay at Petersburg, passed all his evenings in company with the empress, in the favourite suite of apartments which that princess called her hermitage.

We ought not perhaps any longer to delay giving some account of this sumptuous edifice, for so it should be styled; or rather, a suite of apartments, which, under the modest appellation of an hermitage, contains every thing that the most exquisite luxury could combine. It occupies a spacious building contiguous to the imperial palace, with which it communicates by a covered passage over

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an arch. This ſtructure, which Catharine devoted to ſocial recreation and the pleaſures of familiar converſe, is perhaps the only one of its kind that has ever been built by queens and empreſſes for this purpoſe. It had every property that could render it delightful to the elect circle that formed her private parties. The treaſures of art and induſtry with which it abounds are not here to be deſcribed; but a ſhort account of ſome of the remarkable particulars of this palace it would be unpardonable to omit. Here is the private library of the empreſs; the picture-gallery, in which the famous Houghton-collection makes but a ſmall figure; Raphael's gallery, built preciſely to the dimenſions of that of the Vatican, with excellent copies of all the paintings, corner-pieces, and other ornaments of exactly the ſame ſize and in the ſame ſituations; a cabinet of medals, and another of coins; a collection of copper-plate engravings; a collection of natural hiſtory, particularly mineralogy; a collection of curious pieces of art; a collection of models of mechanical inventions; a cabinet of antique and modern gems; not to mention the extraordinary works of art which compoſe the furniture of theſe apartments*. Here and there are placed the buſts of great men. It is in

* A great part of the paintings in the hermitage are from the famous cabinet of Crozat, which the empreſs cauſed to be bought at Paris.

one of theſe rooms that the elegant buſt of Mr. Charles James Fox ſtands in the middle of a marble chimney-piece between two others. Some chambers are deſtined to muſical entertainments, one to billiards, and others to various games. One of them opens into a pleaſure-garden upon arches, with furnaces beneath them in winter to keep up a genial heat; ſo that in the moſt rigorous ſeaſons, here are gathered the peach and the ananas, the hyacinth and the roſe. The whole of this garden is covered with a fine braſs wire, that the beautiful and rare birds from all countries that fly among the trees and buſhes, or hop about the graſs-plots and gravel-walks, and which the empreſs uſed frequently to feed from her hand, may not eſcape. Here, in the midſt of winter, Catharine, with thoſe whom ſhe admitted to her converſation, would walk on lawns and gravel, beneath the branches of verdant trees, and amidſt fruits and flowers of every kind.

Above this is a terrace, where is a ſecond garden, in the aſiatic taſte; but this can only be enjoyed during the ſummer ſeaſon. A covered gallery leads from this enchanted palace into the court-theatre, at the performances of which, likewiſe, only a ſelect company ever appeared.

The other apartments of the hermitage are two large halls ornamented with great elegance, and a dining-room, in which dinner is ſerved by a mechanical apparatus, rendering the attendance of ſervants

ſervants entirely unneceſſary, by preſenting the diſhes on ſmall tables which riſe through trap-doors. At theſe the company take their ſeats; and each perſon, on wiſhing to change his plate, has only to ſtrike it in the centre, and it falls through the table, and through the floor, ſtarting up again and ſettling in its place, having upon it whatever was written on the ſcrap of paper that deſcended with it. At a certain ſignal all the plates and diſhes deſcend, and others with the ſecond courſe preſently appear.

Prince Henry expreſſed his deſire to ſee Moſco. The ſledges were immediately prepared; and he was tranſported thither with extraordinary celerity. Three weeks afterwards he was already back in St. Peterſburg.

Among the various preſents which he received of the empreſs was obſerved the ſtar of the order of St. Andrew, full of very large brilliants, together with a ſingle diamond valued at forty thouſand rubles. The portrait of Catharine was incloſed in this ring *.

However, neither feſtivities nor pleaſures prevented prince Henry from accompliſhing the ſecret object of his journey. In the private converſations which he had with the empreſs, the diſmem-

* The empreſs, moreover, preſented him with a collection of medals in gold, and a variety of rich furs. She alſo made great preſents to all the perſons of his ſuite.

berment of Poland was reſolved on*. Catharine and Frederic were equally deſirous of undertaking this

* A letter written at the time by Mr. profeſſor Richardſon, of Glaſgow, then in the family of the late lord Cathcart, ambaſſador at St. Peterſburg, as tutor to the preſent lord, diſcovers ſuch perſpicacity, and has been ſo verified by events, that it is impoſſible to reſiſt the temptation of making the following extract from it. It ſtands the xliſt in his collection, and bears date Jan. 4, 1771:—This city, ſince the beginning of winter, has exhibited a continued ſcene of feſtivity and amuſements; feaſts, balls, concerts, plays, operas, fireworks, and maſquerades in conſtant ſucceſſion; and all in honour of, and to divert, his royal highneſs prince Henry of Pruſſia, the famous brother of the preſent king. Yet his royal highneſs does not ſeem much diverted. He looks at them as an old cat looks at the gambols of a young kitten; or as one who had higher ſport going on in his own mind, than the paſtime of fiddling and dancing. He came here about the beginning of November, on pretence of a friendly viſit to the empreſs, to have the happineſs of waiting on ſo *magnanimous* a princeſs; and to ſee with his own eyes the progreſs of thoſe immenſe improvements ſo highly celebrated by Voltaire, and thoſe french writers who receive gifts from her majeſty. As the queen of Sheba had heard of king Solomon's "acts and wiſdom," and "came to ſee whether ſhe had heard a true report of them in her own land;" ſo alſo this royal prince hath come to viſit this mighty princeſs. It may be too that, like the queen of Sheba, he is come to prove her majeſty with "hard queſtions;" if ſo, he may depend upon getting anſwers to all his queſtions; and if he has any deſire which ſhe can grant, ſhe will "grant him his "heart's deſire." I could, with the greateſt eaſe, make out an exact parallel, in which the precious ſtones, the camels, and aſſes, brought by the ſheban potentate to Jeruſalem, would, I aſſure you, make no contemptible figure. But do you ſeriouſly imagine, that this creature of ſkin and bone ſhould travel through Sweden,

this diſmemberment; but they could not do it without a third ally. If Maria Thereſa had been ſole

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Sweden, whence he is come at preſent, and Finland and Poland, all for the pleaſure of ſeeing the metropolis and empreſs of Ruſſia? Other princes may purſue ſuch paſtime; but the princes of the houſe of Brandenburg fly at a nobler quarry. Or is the king of Pruſſia, as a tame ſpectator, to reap no advantage from the troubles of Poland and the turkiſh war? What is the meaning of his late conferences with the emperor of Germany? Depend upon it, theſe planetary conjunctions are the forerunners of great events. Time, and perhaps a few months, may unfold the ſecret. You will recollect the ſigns, when you ſhall hear after this of changes, uſurpations, and revolutions. Prince Henry of Pruſſia is one of the moſt celebrated generals of the preſent age. So great are his military talents, that his brother, who is not apt to pay compliments, ſays of him, that in commanding an army he was never known to commit a fault. This, however, is but a negative kind of praiſe. He reſerves to himſelf the glory of ſuperior genius, which, though capable of brilliant atchievements, is yet liable to unwary miſtakes; and allows him no other than the praiſe of correctneſs. To judge of him by his appearance, I ſhould form no high eſtimate of his abilities. But the ſcythian ambaſſadors judged in the ſame manner of Alexander the great. He is under the middle ſize, very thin, he walks firmly enough, or rather ſtruts, as if he wanted to walk firmly; and has little dignity in his air or geſture. He is dark complexioned; and he wears his hair, which is remarkably thick, clubbed, and dreſſed with a high toupée. His forehead is high; his eyes large, with a little ſquint; and when he ſmiles, his upper lip is drawn up a little in the middle. His look expreſſes ſagacity and obſervation; but nothing very amiable: and his manner is grave and ſtiff, rather than affable. He was dreſſed, when I firſt ſaw him, in a light

ſole miſtreſs of the empire, they would not, perhaps, have ſucceeded in making her a ſharer in ſo unjuſt a ſpoliation. Joſeph II. was not ſo difficult. Turkey, France, England, might alſo have maintained the treaties of which they were the guarantees; but theſe powers were ſo eaſily deceived, or ſo indifferent to the fate of other nations, that Catharine ſaid to prince Henry, "I will frighten "Turkey; I will flatter England; do you take "upon you to buy over Auſtria, that ſhe may "amuſe France."

Prince Henry knew ſo well the diſpoſitions of Joſeph II. and of his miniſter Kaunitz, that he acted as if he had been already in concert with them. He ſettled with Catharine the conditions to be obſerved in the diſmemberment of Poland, and fixed the extent of territory that each of the powers in this copartnerſhip ſhould appropriate to

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ſight blue frock, with ſilver frogs; and wore a red waiſtcoat and blue breeches. He is not very popular among the Ruſſians; and accordingly their wits are diſpoſed to amuſe themſelves with his appearance, and particularly with his toupée. They ſay he reſembles Sampſon; that all his ſtrength lies in his hair; and that, conſcious of this, and recollecting the fate of the ſon of Manoah, he ſuffers not the nigh approaches of any deceitful Dalilah. They ſay he is like the comet, which, about fifteen months ago, appeared ſo formidable in the ruſſian hemiſphere; and which, exhibiting a ſmall watery body, but a moſt enormous train, diſmayed the northern and eaſtern potentates "with fear of change."

itſelf.

itſelf. However, the treaty between them was not ſigned till two years afterwards *.

The war continued to rage with fury on the frontiers of Turkey; and while it cheriſhed in the mind of Catharine the ambition of conqueſt, it ſerved alſo as a military ſchool to the Ruſſians. Prince Gallitzin, humiliated at his defeat, made a freſh attempt againſt Khotyim. It was not more ſucceſsful than the former. Sixty thouſand Turks marched for the defence of that place: they defended it bravely, and purſued the Ruſſians quite into Poland: but being vanquiſhed in their turn, they retreated to Moldavia.

At the beginning of this campaign the Turks fought with great courage and obſtinacy; but the ignorance of their generals, and the diſorder that reigned in their armies, often coſt them a defeat. After ten months of war, their army was almoſt entirely deſtroyed, and the fortreſs of Khotyim, which it had at firſt ſo valiantly defended, was abandoned without reſiſtance to two hundred ruſſian grenadiers.

The empreſs, on hearing that, when the Turks were purſuing prince Gallitzin, they had entered on the poliſh territory, pretended that Poland ought not to ſuffer with impunity this infraction of the treaty of Carlovitz. Staniſlaus Auguſtus and the ſenate of Warſaw, always ſubmiſſive to the

* It was ſigned at Peterſburg in the month of February 1772.

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good pleaſure of Catharine, declared war againſt the porte. This procedure, however, added nothing to the forces of the Ruſſians. What exertions could be made by a country without an army, without money, and a prey to all the horrors of anarchy?

But Catharine conceived a project more worthy of her genius. While her armies were haraſſing the Ottomans on the banks of the Pruth, the Danube and the Dnieſtr, and her fleets were triumphing on the Euxine, ſhe reſolved to attack them even in the iſles of Greece. Her miniſters were againſt this plan, excepting count Ivan Chernichef and Gregory Orlof. Catharine, however, ſet about the proper meaſures for executing her darling ſcheme. The dock yards of Archangel, of Cronſtadt, and Reval, now ſwarmed with workmen from all parts of the country; and the keels of as many ſhips as could be begun at one time were immediately laid; the main timbers of theſe ſhips were of oak, and the other parts of fir. She exerted herſelf to keep up the beſt underſtanding with the two maritime powers, England and Denmark. For the improvement of her ſea-officers, ſhe had before engaged Engliſhmen in her ſervice, the number of whom was now doubled. Others ſhe ſent to Malta, to make themſelves acquainted with the art of managing the gallies. In order to accuſtom the lower claſſes of the marine, from the captain to the cabin-boy, to ſeas as yet unknown

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to them, ſhe ordered a new-built frigate, the Nadejda Blogopolutſhik (the Succeſsful Hope) to be got ready for ſea, and invited ſome merchants of Peterſburg to make ventures in it for a direct commerce with the ports of the Mediterranean. The empreſs undertook to provide the crew, and in all other reſpects to be an equal partner in the trade with the reſt. This being ſettled, the command was given to captain Pleſtſcheyef. This was the firſt ſhip which bore the ruſſian flag in the Mediterranean: it was out on the voyage two years, and in that time viſited almoſt all the ports of that ſea. Able and experienced officers, eſpecially from the britiſh navy, readily entered into the imperial ſervice; Elphinſton, Greig, Tate, Dugdale, and many others, not to mention ſir Charles Knowles, who acted more as ſuperintendant and director of the dock yards than in a ſtrictly naval capacity *: even the pilots on board the fleet, beſides native Ruſſians, conſiſted of Engliſhmen, Danes, and Dutch. The empreſs concluded

* To the zeal and abilities of admiral ſir Charles Knowles, Ruſſia is indebted for the preſent improved ſtate of the art of ſhip-building in that country. The admiral had much to reform in the admiralty; and what he effected was really ſurprizing.—Sir Charles Knowles brought over with him, as his ſecretary, Mr. John Robiſon, who was ſhortly afterwards appointed inſpector of the marine cadet corps at Cronſtadt, into which he introduced conſiderable improvements during the few years he remained in that ſtation, and now worthily fills a profeſſor's chair at Edinburgh.

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a particular treaty with Denmark, by which that kingdom was to keep in conſtant readineſs eight hundredſeamen for the ſervice of Ruſſia. And laſtly, ſhe requeſted of the maritime powers a friendly reception and aſſiſtance to her ſhips of war. England and Tuſcany complied with this requeſt; Malta conſented that three ruſſian men of war, but no more at one time, ſhould enter the port of la Valetta; France, Spain, Venice, and Naples, would admit only merchant-ſhips from that country in their ports.

Accordingly, in September 1769, what no one would have believed, two ſquadrons of ruſſian men of war ſailed from Archangel and Reval, which were ſoon followed by others from the Baltic, and ſteered their hitherto unattempted courſe for the Mediterranean. The fleet now conſiſting of twenty ſail of the line, ſix frigates, ſeveral tranſports, a number of bomb-ketches, gallies, and veſſels with troops for land-ſervice, left the Baltic, croſſed the north ſea, paſſed the ſtraits of Gibraltar, and, after having been diſperſed by a tempeſt, collected again, and diſplayed in the Archipelago its victorious flag. This fleet was commanded by admiral Spiridof: but that admiral himſelf was under the orders of Alexèy Orlof, whoſe ſhare in the revolution had raiſed him all at once from a ſimple ſoldier to the rank of general, and whoſe audacity ſerved him inſtead of experience and talents.

All

All Europe was aſtoniſhed to ſee a nation, which till the preſent century was hardly known but by the map, now entering its harbours and braving its coaſts. From the bottom of the Baltic a ruſſian fleet iſſued out to ſhake the remoteſt parts of the Mediterranean: to excite and ſupport the inſurrections of the greek chriſtians, and to leave nothing in any part of the vaſt empire of enemies, free from alarm and confuſion. This naval expedition of Ruſſia ſtands particularly diſtinguiſhed amongſt the events of the times, and forms indeed a remarkable æra in naval hiſtory. What a change of fortune! Ruſſians landing in Paros, Melos, and other iſlands, and even on the continent of antient Greece. Ruſſians conquering Neſtor's Pylos *, and the famous Sparta †; laying ſiege to Corinth, and capturing Lemnos and Mytelene ‡. Ruſſians were fighting in Syria and Ægypt, where, from 1770 to 1773, they ſupported the enterpriſing Ali-bey.—But here indeed many errors were committed, whereby ſeve-

* At preſent Navarino. † Now Miſtra.

‡ Captain Ployart, who commanded one of the ſhips in this expedition, and is now an admiral in the daniſh fleet, going on ſhore at Naxos, took with him a Homer, an old ſchool-book which he happened to have on board, and ſhewed it to ſome of the natives, who begged it of him with the moſt earneſt importunity. The captain complied with their deſires; and on going again on ſhore the next day, he ſaw an elderly man with his back to a wall, reading the ſpeeches of the firſt Iliad with all the fury of declamation, to an audience of fourteen or fifteen perſons.

ral

ral of the advantages that had been gained were obliged to be abandoned. A great part of the fault lay with the unſteady Greeks, Mainots, and Montenegrins, who at firſt declared themſelves very warmly againſt the Turks, but, more inclined to robbery and depredation than regular fighting, ſhewed neither diſcipline, fidelity, nor courage.

A long time before the ſailing of this fleet for the Archipelago, the empreſs had been preparing the way by ſettling a good underſtanding with the principal iſles of Greece. Her emiſſaries flattered them with the hopes of exciting a general revolt in thoſe countries. Marquis Maruzzi, banker at Corfu, and attached to the greek religion, came to St. Peterſburg, where he was decorated with the order of St. Anne, and the title of miniſter from Ruſſia to Venice. He promiſed in gratitude, to advance the ſums that were neceſſary for the expedition of Alexèy Orlof, and he actually furniſhed a capital of thirty-five millions of livres tournois *.

On

* The empreſs procured, beſides, ſeveral conſiderable loans at Leghorn, at Genoa, at Lucca, and at Amſterdam. The merchants of Holland had at firſt ſhewn reluctance at lending their money. Piqued with reſentment that Mr. William Gomm, the banker of the court of Peterſburg, had thought fit to diſpenſe with their aſſiſtance, and to eſtabliſh a courſe of exchange direct between Ruſſia and England, they cauſed bills of exchange of his for three hundred thouſand florins to be proteſted in one day, and occaſioned him to ſtop. But they were offered an eſpecial

On the event of the war againſt the Turks depended the fate of Poland, and the conſideration in which Ruſſia ſhould henceforth be held in Europe. Catharine was not ignorant of it. Accordingly ſhe employed every effort of her power, and every exertion of her mind, in order to enſure ſucceſs.

New ſquadrons were built, numerous recruits were raiſed and ſent to join her camps. Not altogether ſatisfied with prince Gallitzin, the empreſs recalled him, and gave the command of her army to count Romantzof, who was ſucceeded in the Ukraine by general Panin*. Prince Dolgoruky had a third army under his command.

Neither were the Turks backward in reinforcing their armies, and putting at their head generals whom they thought the moſt capable of leading them on to battle. The grand vizir took upon himſelf the general command. They received alſo powerful ſuccours from the Krimea. The famous Kerim-Gueray was lately dead, and his nephew had ſucceeded him. The new khan was weak and of a pacific diſpoſition. The Turks cauſed him to be depoſed; and in his room was elected Kaplan-Gueray, a warlike prince, who preſently

pecial mortgage on the cuſtom-houſes of Peterſburg and Riga; and allured by this bait, they lent them all that they deſired.

* Brother of the miniſter.

put himſelf at the head of a combined army of Turks and Tartars.

The Ruſſians opened the campaign by the ſiege of Bender, a place celebrated for the retreat and the long ſojourn of Charles XII. But, haraſſed by the Tartars, they were obliged for ſome time to relinquiſh the hope of capturing that town. More ſucceſsful on another ſide, they got poſſeſſion of Yaſſi and of Ibraïlof.

Theſe advantages were of but ſmall importance. Two ſignal battles decided the fate of the campaign, and ſecured the glory of Romantzof. The firſt was fought on the borders of the Pruth. The Turks, to the number of eighty thouſand men, were commanded by the khan of the Krimea, who had dexterouſly intrenched himſelf, on a hill, where it was not poſſible to attack them. Romantzof encamped on an oppoſite ſtation, and for the ſpace of a month was vainly endeavouring to bring them to a battle. At length they loſt all patience. A movement of Romantzof led them to imagine that he was on the point of retreating; and a body of twenty thouſand men having gone down to purſue him, they were repulſed with loſs into their very camp, which they reached in terror and diſorder.

Animated by this ſucceſs, the Ruſſians loſt no time in mounting the hill by eſcalade; and after a vigorous reſiſtance, their enemies abandoned to them their intrenchments and a conſiderable part of their baggage and artillery.

After

After this the Turks retired towards the Danube, where they expected to be reinforced by detachments from the grand ottoman army. Indeed the grand vizir, who commanded it, did pass the river, and came to the assistance of the vanquished.

Romantzof, who thinking he was in pursuit of an army in confusion, had advanced towards the mouth of the River Pruth*, found himself all at once in the face of one hundred and fifty thousand Turks. His situation was the more dangerous, as he had been forced to detach a corps of his army for the protection of a convoy he was hourly expecting. The khan, who was indulging in the hopes of revenge, spread his forces to the left of the russian army, and surrounded it in such a manner, as to cut off all possibility of retreat.

Though the russian troops consisting only of eighteen thousand men, were far inferior in numbers to those of the Turks, the latter took the same precautions as if they had had to contend with an enemy who amounted to an equal number with themselves. During the night, they surrounded their camp with a triple intrenchment. The following day the grand vizir gave the signal of battle; and the Russians were attacked on all sides at once. The firing was kept up for five hours, without any decided advantage to either party. But general Romantzof, judging that the cannon and the musquetry would complete the destruction of his

* The Pruth flows into the Danube.

army, gave orders to fall upon the enemy with bayonets fixed. The Turks gave way, and retreated within their intrenchments, where they defended themſelves a long time with great bravery; but numbers were at length obliged to yield to diſcipline and ſkill. The defeat of the Ottomans was complete *. They retreated carrying off the vizir in their flight, and leaving almoſt a third of their army on the field of battle. The greater part of the baggage, and the ſtores of this army, one hundred and forty three pieces of braſs cannon, and ſeven thouſand waggons loaded with proviſions, remained in poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians, and ſupplied them with the means of obtaining new victories.

Soon after this Romantzof paſſed the Dnieſtr. Prince Repnin made the conqueſt of Iſmaïlof. Panin laid ſiege to Bender; and that place, well fortified and defended by a numerous garriſon, but entertaining no longer any hope of being relieved, ſurrendered † after a reſiſtance of nearly three months; the capture of this fortreſs brought with it the ſubmiſſion of the Tartars of Budziak and Otchakof to the ruſſian ſceptre.

General Igelſtrohm took the important town and fortreſs of Ackerman ‡, the capital of Beſſara-

* In the month of July. The camp of the Turks was at Kagul, whence the battle had its name.

† At the beginning of September.

‡ Towards the end of the ſame month.

bia,

bia, by aſſault, which is ſituated on the Euxine, at the mouth of the Dnieſtr *.

The news of ſuch great and repeated ſucceſſes augmented the pride and the ſecurity of Catharine. The diſaffected, who ſurrounded her throne, dared no longer conſpire againſt a princeſs who was triumphing at ſuch a diſtance over her moſt formidable enemies. The provinces of Valakhia, Moldavia, and Beſſarabia, ſubmitting to the ruſſian arms, ſent deputies to Peterſburg to do homage to the empreſs. She received them with magnificence, and loaded them with benefits.

Theſe three provinces, along with Tranſylvania, formed much the greateſt and moſt conſiderable part of the ancient Dacia. They lie between the 43d and 48th degrees of latitude, and are defended on three ſides, by the Dnieſtr, the Euxine, and the Danube; the former on the north ſeparates Moldavia and Beſſarabia from Poland and Little Tartary, the Black Sea is the boundary on the eaſt, and the Danube ſhuts in Valakhia, from Bulgaria and Servia on the ſouth; Tranſylvania and the bannat of Temeſwar from the weſtern boundary. Theſe countries, whether we conſider the happineſs of the climate, the extraordinary fertility in general of the ſoil, or the excellency of the products, are perhaps equal to any, and are certainly ſuperior to moſt in Europe. From the ſurpriſing

* Ackerman ſignifies the white town.

luxuriancy of their paſtures, which are ſcarcely to be paralleled in any part of the world, they produce, beſides admirable horſes, almoſt incredible numbers of excellent oxen and ſheep, with which, notwithſtanding the repeated calamities they have undergone, they have long ſupported the markets of Conſtantinople. Their other products in corn, wine, oil, honey, and wax, beſides a great variety of mines, were, in a ſtate of culture, equal to thoſe we have already mentioned. The people were calculated to enjoy theſe bleſſings, being able-bodied, brave, and warlike. Their power was ſuch, that notwithſtanding their groaning under a cruel and execrable domeſtic government, the prince of Valakhia, a few centuries ago, was able, at a ſhort notice, to bring from that province only ſeventy thouſand men into the field againſt the Turks.

All theſe advantages were inſufficient to protect them againſt ſiniſter events. The primary cauſe of their ruin was the cruel and arbitrary conduct of their deſpots: the bad neighbourhood of the Germans and Turks, equally inſidious and oppreſſive in their deſigns, and ever watchful to take an advantage of their diſſenſions, precipitated their deſtruction; the wretched policy and cruel government of the porte completed it. Thus have theſe fine countries been reduced to little better than a deſert; and ſuch are the unhappy effects of a cruel and deſpotic government, to render vain all the

bounties of nature, and to make the fineſt parts of the globe equally ſterile and inhoſpitable with its barren mountains.

At the ſame time ſeveral other foreign officers came to offer their ſervices to Catharine, and obtained employment in her armies; among whom were, general Lloyd*, major Thomas Carlton†, and other Engliſhmen of tried courage and conduct, together with ſome naval officers from England and Denmark, and captain Kinſbergen from Holland. Theſe officers, diſtinguiſhed by their talents and experience, were incorporated into the ruſſian navy.

We have ſeen that, a little after her acceſſion to the throne, Catharine had drawn from the converſations of marſhal Munich the idea of getting poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople, and of driving the Turks out of Europe. The old ſoldier had even offered to conduct the enterprize. But too many obſtacles were at that time in the way of the execution of ſo great an attempt. The propitious moment ſeemed now at laſt arrived. However, unable to cheriſh the hope of keeping under her dominion all the grecian iſles, the empreſs determined at leaſt to raviſh them from the ottoman power; and the moſt deſpotic of ſovereigns reſol-

* Well known as the author of "Reveries," a work on "the poſſibility of invading England,"—"hiſtory of the campaigns of the war in Germany," &c.

† Now governor of New Brunſwick in America.

ved to be the patron of liberty in these fine countries, and to be the founder of a republic there *.

We have already observed, that secret agents had been disposing the Greeks to rise up in arms. That people, anciently so proud and now so debased, expected the Russians as their deliverers; and the instant their squadron had got the height of cape Matapan †, the whole Archipelago thought itself free. The Mainots, descendants of the ancient Lacedemonians, were the first that took arms. Their neighbours soon followed their example; and the Turks were massacred in several of the islands. But the latter cruelly revenged themselves for the insurrection of the Greeks. Some thousands of these miserable people were exterminated by the sabre of the janissaries.

The squadron of admiral Spiridof was soon joined by that of Elphinston, a native of England, vice-admiral in the service of Russia, and far more capable of commanding than the officer under whose orders he served.

To this double squadron was opposed that of the capudan-pasha ‡, a man of extraordinary intrepi-

* Afterwards she determined Joseph II. to second this project, which nevertheless was not put in execution.

† Formerly the promontory of Tenaros.

‡ The capudan-pasha was Yasser-bey. He was degraded, and Gazi-Hassan put in his place. The sultan was so pleased with his courage in the engagement with admiral Spiridof, that he gave him the surname of Gazi, or the Victorious.

dity,

dity, and who, on ſeveral occaſions, only wanted, for gaining the victory, to have been better ſeconded.

He firſt forced the Ruſſians to retire from Lemnos. Afterwards the two fleets met * in the channel that ſeparates the iſle of Scio from Natolia. The turkiſh ſhips were ſuperior in number, and were in a manner intrenched behind ſome ſmall iſlands and rocks on a level with the ſurface of the water. The Ruſſians, however, were not afraid to attack them. The capudan-paſha, whoſe flag was flying on board the Sultan, of ninety guns, led the van, and offered battle to admiral Spiridof. The ſhips came alongſide of each other. The efforts of courage were terrible on both ſides. Showers of balls and grenades interchangeably croſſed, with rapidity, on the decks of the two admirals. The ſhip of the capudan-paſha caught fire; that of the ruſſian commander could not diſengage itſelf from it. They blew up together; and the ſea was covered with their ſmoking fragments. The admirals and ſome other officers were the only perſons that eſcaped the diſaſter.

While the ſhips were burning, the other veſſels, ſtruck with terror, abandoned the fight; but ſoon after renewed the attack with redoubled fury. Night coming on, they were obliged to ſeparate.

* The 5th of July.

The

The Turks had now the imprudence to enter the narrow and ſlimy bay of Tſcheſmè, where ſome of their veſſels ran aground, and the others were ſo preſſed for room, that they found it impoſſible for them to act. The Ruſſians, who had obſerved their miſtake, made every preparation for turning it to their advantage.

The day following*, vice-admiral Elphinſton took his ſtation at the entrance of the bay, to prevent the Turks from coming out. The next ſtep he took was to order four fire-ſhips to be got ready, commanded by the engliſh lieutenant Dugdale, and protected by the veſſels of another Engliſhman, vice-admiral Greig. Towards midnight Greig began the attack with four ſhips of the line and two frigates. Preſently after, Dugdale came up with his fire-ſhips; and braving the vigorous fire of the enemy, and encouraging by his example the Ruſſians who ſeconded him, he himſelf faſtened the grapplings of a fire-ſhip to one of the turkiſh veſſels; and, with his hands, his face, and his hair, all burnt, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and ſwam to the ruſſian ſquadron. The turkiſh ſhips were ſo cloſe together, that they all became a prey to the flames†. The ſun at its riſing ſaw no more of their flag.

So

* The 6th of July.

† The fire took place ſo effectually, that in five hours, the whole fleet, except one man of war and a few gallies that were towed off by the Ruſſians, was totally deſtroyed; after which they

So far from endeavouring to ſtop the progreſs of the combuſtion, the turkiſh crews thought of nothing but their own ſafety. Several ſailors got off in boats, others threw themſelves into the ſea and took to ſwimming, and all of them who gained the ſhore diſperſed themſelves about the countries, and were guilty of ſuch depredations and exceſſes towards the wretched inhabitants, that even the Ruſſians themſelves could not perhaps have ſurpaſſed them. It was found neceſſary to ſend a party of troops to put an end to their ravages.

After the entire deſtruction of the turkiſh ſquadron, the Ruſſians went to anchor at Paros; whence they might eaſily command all the grecian ſeas, and where not a ſingle veſſel was ſuffered to appear without lowering its top-ſails.

The Turks were the more uneaſy by the vicinity of ſuch an enemy, as a rebellion had broke out in

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they entered the harbour, and bombarded and cannonaded the town, and a caſtle that protected it, with ſuch ſucceſs, that a lucky ſhot having blown up the powder magazine in the latter, both were reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. Thus, there was ſcarcely a veſtige left at nine o'clock, of a town, a caſtle, and a fine fleet, which had been all in exiſtence, at one, the ſame morning.—It is certain that this famous conflagration was the work of three Engliſhmen, Elphinſton, Greig, and Dugdale. The empreſs, nevertheleſs, thought fit to aſcribe the idea of it to Alexius Orlof. She wrote ſo to Voltaire; ſhe repeated it again in 1788, to the ambaſſador of France.

ſeveral

ſeveral parts of their empire. The paſhas of Caramania, almoſt always at variance with the porte, took advantage of its diſaſters for withdrawing themſelves entirely from its authority. That part of Syria which is below Sidon and Tripoli followed their example, and the old ſheik Daher excited all the country which reaches from Acre to the plains of Eſdraelon, and to the frontiers of Egypt.

But of all thoſe who ſignalized themſelves by their rebellion againſt the grand ſignior, he who undoubtedly ſhewed himſelf the moſt formidable, and who was moſt in capacity to be of ſervice to Ruſſia, was Ali-bey. Raiſed from the rank of a ſimple mammeluk to that of bey, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage, and had experienced, though ſtill very young, the favours and the reverſes of fortune. The rivals of his power ſucceeded ſo far as to remove him from Cairo; but he ſoon returned thither again and baniſhed them in his turn. He knew that the porte had been hoſtile to him, and, animated with an implacable reſentment, he deſired nothing better than to be able to contribute to the ruin of the ottoman empire. The arrival of the ruſſian ſquadrons ſeemed to offer him a favourable opportunity for ſatisfying his vengeance.

Perhaps there never was an enterpriſe in a diſtant country more ſucceſsfully carried on than that of the Ruſſians on the coaſts of Aſia Minor. But perhaps alſo never were generals more ignorant, more

more incapable of appreciating the character of foreign nations, more jealous of a vain oſtentation, and more addicted to debauchery, than Alexèy Orlof and his principal officers. If they had had the ſkill to profit by their victories, and the ſuperiority of their forces, Syria and Egypt would for ever have been loſt to the ottoman empire.

Ali-bey uſed every effort to induce them to ſupport the rebellion, and to ſend him troops to aſſiſt him in driving the Turks out of Egypt. But inſtead of ſeconding his exertions, Alexius Orlof amuſed himſelf with inſiſting on his acknowledging the empreſs for his ſovereign.

A young venetian merchant, named Carlo Roſetti, had poſſeſſed himſelf of the confidence of the bey, and was the firſt whom he employed to treat with the Ruſſians. No one was more diſpoſed, nor more fit to bring ſuch a negotiation to a happy iſſue. Orlof had not the ſenſe to take advantage of ſuch an opportunity. Negligent of the advices which this artful Italian might have given him, and diſguſting him by his arrogance, he took Greeks and Jews into his pay, who cheated and deceived him. He was miſtruſtful of Ali-bey, and forced him, by his artifices to be miſtruſtful of him.

It was only a ſhort time before he quitted the Archipelago, that Alexius Orlof ſent Pleſtſcheyef* into

* Pleſtſcheyef obtained in the ſequel the rank of vice-admiral. He drew up an account of his expedition in Egypt; but in it he

into Egypt. Pleſtſcheyef was favourably received by the bey. He flattered himſelf with being able to draw from his miſſion great advantage to the Ruſſians: but it was too late. Peace intervened to interrupt his negotiations.

A courier diſpatched directly to the empreſs, brought her the news of the burning of the turkiſh fleet; ſo that ſhe was the firſt perſon in Peterſburg informed of the event. Count Ivan Chernichef, whom the empreſs had long ſince recalled from London, and put at the head of the marine department, was then deeply engaged in a quarrel with the college of admiralty, and that quarrel had occaſioned ſome delay in the expedition of an affair of little conſequence. Catharine complained of this delay, and thought no more of it. She was well acquainted with the obſtinacy and the extreme incapacity of Chernichef: but ſhe continued him in his place, becauſe ſhe had laid it down as a ſettled principle to change as ſeldom as poſſible her miniſters and her ambaſſadors. When ſhe ſent for Ivan Chernichef to communicate to him the news of the affair of Tſcheſmè, the miniſter imagining that ſhe meant to ſpeak again to him of his quarrel, began, as he entered the

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he mentions not a word of the money that he gave to the Copht Riſk, to procure for him the favour of Ali-bey. See the whole of this narrative in the "Varieties of Literature," vol. i. p. 477.

apartment:—

apartment:—"I assure you, madam, that it was "not my fault."—"Oh! I know that very well," returned the empress, "but it is not the less cer- "tain."—"Alas! yes, madam, and I am very "sorry for it."—"What! are you sorry that the "Turks have no longer any fleet?" said the em- press, smiling; and she then communicated to him the contents of the dispatches which she had just received.

The joy was extreme at the court of Peters- burg. Magnificent festivities were given to cele- brate the victory of Tschesmè; and the empress afterwards caused a palace to be built *, and the foundations of a town to be laid, for consecrating to posterity the remembrance of so glorious an event.

1771. Count Alexius Orlof returned in all haste to Petersburg †, to repose upon his laurels, to enjoy his triumphs, and to solicit new means for extending his conquests in the Archipelago. On his appearance the festivities were renewed, and he was decorated by his sovereign with the grand ribband of St. George.

He laid before the council a plan by which he proposed to render himself master of all Greece, and to rescue Egypt from the ottoman empire. He concluded by saying, that he would pass the

* See before, p. 15.

† He arrived there the 15th of March, 1771.

dangerous

dangerous paſſage of the Dardanelles, and that for all theſe important purpoſes he requeſted no more than ten millions of rubles.—"I grant you "twenty," immediately replied Catharine; "for "I am reſolved that you ſhall want for nothing." At the ſame time orders were iſſued for the equipment of a new ſquadron, to reinforce that which was already in the Archipelago.

During the ſtate of extreme loſs and misfortune to which the Turks were reduced by the war, that empire ſeemed convulſed in all its parts; order, ſubmiſſion, and reſpect to government, ſeemed totally at an end; maſſacre and confuſion took place; and, to fill up the meaſure of calamity, the plague now made the moſt cruel ravages; above a thouſand perſons dying daily in Conſtantinople for ſeveral weeks. The deſtruction of their fleet was better known in that metropolis, and was in itſelf more immediately alarming, than any other misfortune that could have happened: and, as if the dangers from without were not ſufficiently terrible, the run-away ſailors filled it with ſlaughter and confuſion, and actually ſet fire to the city and ſuburbs at ſeveral times. At length theſe miſcreants were ſo ſtrengthened, by the acceſſion of vagabonds and villains of all ſorts, particularly by the crowds of deſerters from the Danube, who had nothing to ſubſiſt on but plunder, that they came to an open engagement with the janiſſaries in the ſuburbs of Pera, where ſome

thouſands

thouſands of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt diſperſed.

In the mean time, every proper meaſure was adopted for the ſecurity of the Dardanelles, and all the remaining ſhips and gallies were fitted out with the greateſt expedition to aſſiſt in defending the paſſage. The late vizir, Moldavangi Ali-paſha, was recalled from his exile, and ſent at the head of fifteen thouſand men for the ſame purpoſe; where the firſt enemies he had to encounter were the rebellious ſailors, who landed in a body in ſpite of the capudan-paſha; and, making zeal for their religion a cloak for their avarice and licentiouſneſs, intended to have plundered and burnt the city of Gallipoli, and to have maſſacred the Greeks. They were however happily diſappointed in this cruel deſign by the vigour and reſolution of the late vizir, who ſeverely chaſtiſed their profligacy; and, after killing a great number of them, reduced the remainder to order. Baron Tot, a french nobleman who had been conſul in Tartary, and was an engineer of the firſt abilities, together with ſeveral others of his countrymen, were alſo procured, to erect new batteries on the ſtraights, and to put the caſtles into a proper ſtate of defence. By theſe means, together with the uncertainty of the winds and currants neceſſary to facilitate ſuch an enterpriſe, all the attempts of the Ruſſians, to force their paſſage, had hitherto proved fruitleſs.

Nor was the revolution in Egypt, nor the interception of the trade from the leſſer Aſia and Syria by the Ruſſians, attended with the fatal conſequences to the metropolis that were expected; as amidſt all its calamities it was conſtantly and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions; a felicity for which it is principally indebted to the long extent of ſea-coaſt from the mouth of the Helleſpont to the Euxine. In the mean time the winter ſeaſon having obliged the Ruſſians to quit their ſtation near the Dardanelles, the trade through the ſtraights was of courſe again opened.

While the porte was thus fatally experiencing all the viciſſitudes and havoc of war, the calamities of peſtilence, and the precipitate deſtructive evils of anarchy, in their european dominions; the ſame ruinous ſyſtem of policy, and weakneſs and relaxation of government, extended their effects into other parts of that great empire, and produced a new and extraordinary revolution in Egypt. Ali-bey, who had ſo long made a diſtinguiſhed figure among the factions that for ſome years paſt had torn that country to pieces, at length threw off the maſk; and, taking advantage of the preſent ſtate of diſtreſs and danger, boldly mounted the throne of the antient ſultans of that kingdom.

The ottomans had from the beginning made but a lax uſe of their authority in the government of Egypt. The diſtance and climate made it

difficult to ſupport there any conſiderable number of troops; while, from its peculiar ſituation, and the number of barbarous nations on its borders, who would naturally join the natives, or at leaſt afford them ſhelter and protection if overcome, nothing leſs than an army could enforce a very ſtrict obedience. Satisfied with the very great benefits that reſulted from its being a granary to Conſtantinople and other parts of their dominions, as it had formerly been to antient Rome, the Turks were content with a very moderate tribute, not above one-third of which came into the treaſury. A garriſon of janiſſaries was kept at Cairo, where a paſha with the title of governor, but with little more power than what the great men of the country choſe to allow him, conſtantly reſided. The princes and grandees of the country had abſolute power in their reſpective territories, and held a general aſſembly or council every year at Cairo, where they ſettled the payment of the revenues, and debated upon ſuch other national matters as demanded conſideration. To prevent any reſtraint from the governor, or their being overawed by the janiſſaries, as well as from the continual quarrels among themſelves, they all came attended by their armed vaſſals. Such aſſemblies, among ſo barbarous a people, naturally diſpoſed to faction and treachery, preſented continual ſcenes of bloodſhed and confuſion; while the governors, by occaſionally ſupporting one party

againſt the other, endeavoured to derive that power and conſequence from their diſſenſions which the authority of office was incapable of procuring.

Ali-bey, a man of ſtrong natural parts and conſiderable abilities, improved upon the line of policy ſtruck out by the governors; and, by dextrouſly ſhifting for a number of years from one ſide to the other, and deſtroying by degrees ſuch parties as were obnoxious to him, he at length formed one great one which ſwallowed up all the others. Not content with the kingdom of Egypt, he laid claim to Syria, Paleſtine, and that of Arabia which had belonged to the antient ſultans. The uſurper accordingly marched at the head of an army to ſupport thoſe pretenſions, and actually ſubdued ſome of the neighbouring provinces both of Arabia and Syria.

At the ſame time that he was engaged in thoſe ambitious purſuits, he was not leſs attentive to the eſtabliſhing of a regular form of government, and of introducing order into a country that has been ſo long the ſeat of anarchy and confuſion. His views were equally extended to commerce; for which purpoſe he gave great encouragement to the chriſtian traders, and took off ſome ſhameful reſtraints and indignities, to which they were ſubject in that barbarous country: he alſo wrote a letter to the republic of Venice, with the warmeſt aſſurances of his friendſhip and that their merchants ſhould meet with every degree of protec-

tion and ſafety. His great deſign was to make himſelf maſter of the Red Sea; to open the port of Suez to all nations, but particularly to the Europeans, and to make Egypt once more the great centre of commerce.

Proud of the favour of the empreſs, of victories of which he took the honour to himſelf, and of thoſe he ſtill intended to gain, count Alexèy Orlof departed from St. Peterſburg, in order to return to the Archipelago. Having ſtopped ſome time at Vienna, he there diſplayed an extravagant luxury, and gave himſelf up to indiſcretions very little worthy of the miniſter of a princeſs ſo diſcreet as Catharine. One evening being at ſupper with the ambaſſador of Ruſſia and a numerous company, he ſpoke of the revolution that had coſt the throne to Peter III. No one dared to put the leaſt queſtion concerning the death of the unfortunate tzar. Alexèy Orlof related it of his own accord; and, perceiving that all who heard him ſhuddered with horror, he thought he cleared himſelf of the crime which he had committed, by ſaying, "That "it was a lamentable thing for a man of ſo much "humanity as he poſſeſſed, to be forced to do "what he had been commanded." But this repentance could not be thought ſincere. The character of Alexèy Orlof was too well known; and the whole of his conduct proved that his conſcience was not apt eaſily to take the alarm.

On leaving Vienna, Alexèy Orlof went to rejoin

the ruſſian ſquadron which lay expecting him at Leghorn; and, though in a ſhattered condition, continued to complete the ruin of the marine and the commerce of the Turks.

The empress had commiſſioned Alexèy Orlof to cauſe to be painted in Italy four pictures, repreſenting the engagements of her ſquadron and the burning of the turkiſh fleet. Orlof made application to a painter named Hackert. This artiſt having told him that he had never ſeen a ſhip blow up, the Ruſſian made no heſitation of affording him an opportunity of contemplating ſuch an object, and hazarded the firing of all the veſſels in the road of Leghorn for furniſhing the painter with the means of exhibiting with greater truth the diſaſter of the capudan-paſha and admiral Spiridof*.

Acts of extravagance are not always crimes. But there is no crime which ſuch an extravagant character is not capable of committing. On his departure from Peterſburg, he had received orders to ſend thither a young unfortunate lady who had been reſcued from tyranny. This barbarous order was now to be accompliſhed.

It has already been mentioned that the empreſs Elizabeth had three children by her clandeſtine marriage with the grand-veneur Alexèy Gregorievitch Razumoſſky. The youngeſt of theſe chil-

* The four pictures by Hackert are at preſent hanging in the hall of audience at Peterhof.

dren

dren was a girl, brought up under the name of princeſs Tarrakanof. Prince Radzivil, informed of this ſecret, and irritated at Catharine's trampling under foot the rights of the Poles, conceived that the daughter of Elizabeth would furniſh him with a ſignal means of revenge. He thought that it would not be in vain if he oppoſed to the ſovereign, whoſe armies were ſpreading deſolation over his unhappy country, a rival whoſe mother's name ſhould render dear to the Ruſſians. Perhaps his ambition might ſuggeſt to him yet more lofty hopes. Perhaps he might flatter himſelf with being one day enabled to mount the throne on which he intended to place the young Tarrakanof. However this be, he gained over the perſons to whom the education of this princeſs was committed, carried her off, and conveyed her to Rome *.

Catharine, having intelligence of this tranſaction, took immediate ſteps to fruſtrate the deſigns of prince Radzivil. Taking advantage of the circumſtance of his being the chief of the confederacy of the malcontents, ſhe cauſed all his eſtates to be ſeized, and reduced him to the neceſſity of living on the produce of the diamonds and the other valuable effects he had carried with him to Italy. Theſe ſupplies were ſoon exhauſted. Radzivil ſet out in order to pick up what intelligence he could concerning affairs in Poland, leav-

* In 1767 mademoiſelle de Tarrakanof was about twelve years of age.

ing the young Tarrakanof at Rome, under the care of a ſingle gouvernante, and in circumſtances extremely confined. Scarcely had he reached his own country, when an offer was made to reſtore him his poſſeſſions, on condition that he would take his young ward to Ruſſia. He refuſed to ſubmit to ſo diſgraceful a propoſal; but he had the weakneſs to promiſe that he would give himſelf no farther concern about the daughter of Elizabeth. This was the price of his pardon.

Alexèy Orlof, charged with the execution of the will of the empreſs, ſeized the firſt moment on his arrival at Leghorn, of laying a ſnare for the princeſs Tarrakanof. One * of thoſe intriguers who are ſo common in Italy, repaired immediately to Rome; and, after having diſcovered the lodgings of the young Ruſſian, he introduced himſelf to her in a military dreſs and under the name of an officer. He told her that he had been brought thither by the ſole deſire of paying homage to a princeſs whoſe fate and fortunes were highly intereſting to all her countrymen. He ſeemed very much affected at the ſtate of deſtitution in which he found her. He offered her ſome aſſiſtance which neceſſity forced her to accept; and the traitor ſoon appeared to this unfortunate lady, as

* It was a Neapolitan, named Ribas. He afterwards came to Ruſſia where he married mademoiſelle Anaſtaſia, reputed daughter of M. de Betſkoï, and has ſince been made knight of Malta, and promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the Black Sea.

well

well as to the woman that waited on her, in the light of a faviour whom heaven had ſent to her deliverance.

When he thought he had ſufficiently gained their confidence, he declared that he was commiſſioned by count Alexius Orlof to offer to the daughter of Elizabeth the throne that had been filled by her mother. He ſaid that the Ruſſians were diſcontented with Catharine; that Orlof eſpecially could never forgive her for her ingratitude and her tyranny; and that, if the young princeſs would accept of the ſervices of that general, and recompenſe him by the grant of her hand, it would not be long ere ſhe ſaw the breaking out of that revolution which he had prepared.

Propoſals ſo brilliant ought naturally to have opened the eyes of the princeſs Tarrakanof, and ſhewn her the treachery of him that made them. But her inexperience and her candour permitted her not to ſuſpect any guile. Beſides, the language of the emiſſary of Alexius Orlof ſeemed analagous with the notions ſhe had imbibed from prince Radzivil. She imagined herſelf deſtined to the throne; and all the airy dreams that any way related to that opinion could not but encourage the deceit. She accordingly gave herſelf up to theſe flattering hopes, and with a grateful heart concurred in the deſigns of him who addreſſed her only to her deſtruction.

Some time after this Alexius Orlof came to Rome.

Rome. His emiſſary had already announced him. He was received as a benefactor. However, ſome perſons to whom the princeſs and her gouvernante communicated the good fortune that was promiſed them, adviſed them to be on their guard againſt the deſigns of a man whoſe character for wickedneſs had been long eſtabliſhed, and who doubtleſs had too much reaſon to remain faithful to the empreſs to think of conſpiring againſt her. Far from profiting by this good counſel, the princeſs was ſo imprudently frank as to ſpeak of it to Alexius Orlof, who with great eaſe delivered his juſtification, and thenceforth drew a deeper ſhade of diſſimulation and addreſs into his ſpeeches and behaviour. Not ſatisfied with fanning the ambition of the young Ruſſian, he put on the ſemblance of a paſſion for her, and ſucceeded ſo far as to inſpire her with a true one. So ſoon as he was aſſured of it, he conjured her to enter into a union with him by the moſt ſacred ties. She unhappily conſented; and it was even with joy that the poor unfortunate lady promiſed to ſolemnize a marriage which muſt conſummate her ruin. She thought that the title of ſpouſe of count Alexius Orlof would ſhelter her invincibly from thoſe treacheries which ſhe was taught to apprehend. She entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion that a man could make religion and the moſt ſacred titles ſubſervient to the deſtruction of an innocent victim. But, alas! was any religion, was any title ſacred to the barbarian

rian into whoſe ſnares ſhe had fallen? He who could ſtrangle the unfortunate Peter III. could he dread to diſhonour the daughter of Elizabeth*?

Feigning a deſire that the marriage ceremony ſhould be performed according to the ritual of the greek church, he ſuborned ſubaltern villains to diſguiſe themſelves as prieſts and lawyers. Thus profanation was combined with impoſture againſt the unprotected and too confident Tarrakanof.

When Alexius Orlof was become the huſband or rather the raviſher of this unhappy princeſs, he repreſented to her that their ſtay at Rome expoſed her to too cloſe obſervation, and that it would be adviſable for her to go to ſome other city of Italy, to wait for the breaking out of the conſpiracy that was to call her to the throne. Believing this advice to be dictated by love and prudence, ſhe anſwered that ſhe would follow him wherever he choſe to conduct her. He brought her immediately to Piſa, where he had previouſly hired a magnificent palace. There he continued to treat her with marks of tenderneſs and reſpect. But he permitted none to come near her except perſons who were entirely at his devotion; and when ſhe went to the play or to the public promenades, he accompanied her always himſelf.

The diviſion of the ruſſian ſquadron under the

* The fate of the young Tarrakanof may be compared to that of the daughter of Sejanus: "..... a carnifice laqueum "juxtà, compreſſam ....." Tacit. Ann. lib. v.

command

command of admiral Greig, had juſt entered the port of Leghorn. On relating this news to the princeſs, Alexius Orlof told her that his preſence was neceſſary at Leghorn for the purpoſe of giving ſome orders, and offered to take her with him. To this ſhe the more readily conſented, as ſhe had heard much talk of the beauty of the port of Leghorn and the magnificence of the ruſſian ſhips. Imprudent lady! the nearer ſhe approached the cataſtrophe of the plot, the more ſhe truſted to the tenderneſs and the ſincerity of her faithleſs betrayer!

She departed from Piſa with her cuſtomary attendance. On arriving at Leghorn, ſhe landed at the houſe of the engliſh conſul, who had prepared for her a ſuitable apartment, and who received her with marks of the profoundeſt reſpect. Several ladies were early in making their viſits, and ſedulouſly attended her on all occaſions. She ſaw herſelf preſently ſurrounded by a numerous court, eager to be beforehand with all her deſires, and ſeeming to make it their only ſtudy inceſſantly to procure her ſome new entertainment. Whenever ſhe went out, the people ran in her way. At the theatre all eyes were directed to her box. All circumſtances conſpired to lull her into a fatal ſecurity. All tended to diſpel the idea of any danger at hand.

It is doubtleſs impoſſible to believe that an engliſh conſul, an engliſh admiral, and ladies of their family or acquaintance, could be ſo baſe, ſo inhuman,

inhuman, as to draw into the ſnare, by deceitful reſpect and careſſes, a victim whoſe youth, whoſe beauty, whoſe innocence, was capable of affecting the moſt inſenſible heart. It is not to be imagined that they were in any degree privy to the plot contrived againſt her, and that they ſtudiouſly inſpired her with confidence, only the more infallibly to betray her.

The young Tarrakanof was ſo far from ſuſpecting her unfortunate ſituation, that, after having paſſed ſeveral days in a round of amuſements and diſſipation, ſhe aſked of herſelf to be ſhewn the ruſſian fleet. The idea was applauded. The neceſſary orders were immediately given; and the next day, on riſing from table, every thing was ready at the water-ſide for receiving the princeſs. On her coming down, ſhe was handed into a boat with magnificent awnings. The conſul, and ſeveral ladies, ſeated themſelves with her. A ſecond boat conveyed vice-admiral Greig and count Alexius Orlof; and a third, filled with ruſſian and engliſh officers, cloſed the proceſſion. The boats put off from ſhore in ſight of an immenſe multitude of people, and were received by the fleet with a band of muſic, ſalutes of artillery, and repeated huzzas. As the princeſs came alongſide the ſhip of which ſhe was to go on board, a ſplendid chair was let down from the yard, in which being ſeated, ſhe was hoiſted upon deck; and it

was

was obſerved to her, that theſe were particular honours paid to her rank.

But no ſooner was ſhe on board than ſhe was handcuffed. In vain ſhe implored for pity of the cruel betrayer, whom ſhe ſtill called her huſband. In vain ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and watered them with her tears. No anſwer was even vouchſafed to her lamentations. She was carried down into the hold; and the next day the veſſel ſet ſail for Ruſſia.

On arriving at Peterſburg, the young victim was ſhut up in the fortreſs; and what became of her afterwards was never known *.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Leghorn, who had ſeen the princeſs embark, heard ſhortly after with horror, that inſtead of a grand entertainment, which ſhe was led to expect, on board the fleet, ſhe was put into irons. The grand duke

* It was affirmed by ſome, that the waters of the Neva, ſix years afterwards, put an end to her misfortunes, by drowning her in the priſon, in the inundation of 1777. On the 10th of September of that year, a wind at S. S. W. raiſed the water of the gulph of Finland towards the Neva, with a violence ſo extraordinary that it ſwelled that river to the height of ten feet above its uſual level, and drove many veſſels on ſhore, The author of the intereſting, "Memoires ſecrets ſur l'Italie," who ſome time ſince printed a part of theſe particulars, ſurmiſes that the young Tarrakanof fell in priſon by the hands of the executioner. The truth is, the grounds are but very ſlight for rendering credible either the one or the other account.

of

of Tuſcany, whoſe territory was thus ſo ſhamefully inſulted, wrote immediately to Vienna and to Peterſburg to complain of the outrage. But Alexius Orlof inſolently braved both the complaints of Leopold and the public indignation.

An adventure that happened during count Orlof's ſtay at Rome, may ſerve to throw ſome light on the brutal character of the man. One evening that he was at ſupper in a houſe * with a large company, he wiſhed to diſplay his extraordinary ſtrength. He with great eaſe broke in his hand ſeveral pieces of cryſtal and iron. He then took between two of his fingers an apple, which he broke into ſeveral pieces. A royal duke, brother of an illuſtrious monarch, was at table; one of the pieces of apple ſtruck the prince on his face and hurt him. Every one preſent was extremely affected at this accident. Alexius Orlof alone ſeemed entirely unmoved, and even deigned not to make the ſlighteſt apology to the duke.

Though repeatedly vanquiſhed, the ottoman armies were eaſily recruited, and reſiſted the efforts of the Ruſſians; like a terrible hydra, whoſe heads increaſed under the reiterated blows of Romantzof and his inferior commanders. The ruſſian general Veiſſmann croſſed the Danube, and beat the Turks near Iſaakia. Soon after this the grand vizir forced him to repaſs that river, and advanced

* At the houſe of the marchioneſs Gentili Bocca Paduli.

to

to Bukhareſt with an army of one hundred thouſand men. There the Turks were completely victorious. But no long time was allowed them to rejoice in their ſucceſſes. In three ſucceſſive battles the Ruſſians regained the upper hand.

The grand vizir retreated into the mountains of the Bulgarians; and Romantzof, leaving the right bank of the Danube, took up his winter-quarters in Moldavia and Valakhia.

The khan of the Krimea fought valiantly for the Turks. Catharine reſolved to be revenged on him, and deprive the enemy of this aſſiſtance. She had already for ſome time eſtabliſhed a ſort of intelligence in the Krimea. Her emiſſaries were ſecretly working to ſow diſſenſions among the Tartars, and to draw off from the khan the confidence of his ſubjects. They ſucceeded in theſe endeavours; and valour completed what had been begun by intrigue.

The famous lines of Perekop had ſubmitted, forty years before, to the intrepidity of Munich. Learning prudence by this example, the khans of the Krimea rendered this paſſage more difficult than it had hitherto been. Nevertheleſs, neither a ditch of ſeventy-two feet in width, and forty-two in depth, nor fifty thouſand Tartars who defended it, were able to check the career of prince Dolgorucky. By forcing this barrier that general made himſelf maſter of all the Krimea: and as the reward

ward of his victory, he received of the empreſs the ſurname of Krimſky *.

The khan, forced to abandon his country, to avoid falling into the power of the conqueror, retired to the dependencies of Turkey. Prince Dolgoruky immediately cauſed a new khan to be elected; but neither was this ſuch an one as the Ruſſians wanted; and he detached himſelf from their party without delay.

The grand ſignor, incenſed that Abaza-paſha, and ſome other of the turkiſh commanders, had baſely abandoned the Krimea, ſent them the fatal bow-ſtring, and cauſed their bleeding heads to be expoſed on the gates of the ſeraglio.

The deſertion of the Krim by the turkiſh commanders was not the only act of treachery of which the porte had at that time to complain. It had juſt concluded †, with the cabinet of Vienna, a ſecret treaty, by which that court engaged to take up arms offenſively in its behalf, on condition that it would defray the expences of the war, and that it would reſtore at the peace a part of Valakhia

* This is an ancient cuſtom in Ruſſia. Prince Dolgoruky received the ſurname of Krimſky, becauſe he conquered the Krim; marſhal Romantzof, that of Sadunaiſky, becauſe he croſſed the Danube; Alexius Orlof, that of Tſchefmenſkoï, becauſe of the victory at Tſchefmè; marſhal Suvarof, that of Rimnitſky; as the famous duke Alexander had anciently received that of Nevſky or Neſſky, on account of his gaining a victory over the Swedes on the banks of the Neva.

† The 6th of July.

and ſome other auſtrian territories which it had conquered. Faithful to theſe engagements, the porte began by paying the court of Vienna five millions of imperial florins *. The court of Vienna made uſe of it immediately: but, to the ſhame of the profeſſors of the chriſtian faith, it was in making preparations for turning its arms againſt the porte itſelf, and to unite with Ruſſia.

While war thus aſſumed his moſt ſavage form, in the conteſt between thoſe rude and wide extended empires, and appeared diſpoſed rather to exterminate than barely to thin the human ſpecies, the peſtilence, that other dread foe to mankind, alſo claimed his ſhare of the ſpoil, and ſeemed too impatient to wait for the gleanings of the ſword.

For ſome time paſt this dreadful ſcourge had been ravaging the interior of Ruſſia. The plague had manifeſted itſelf in Moſco; and the ignorance of the phyſicians, in conjunction with the ſuperſtition of the people, increaſed its fury. The phyſicians at firſt miſtook the diſtemper for nothing more than an epidemical fever; and the people, who ſaw that the phyſicians were not able to cure it, purſued them on all ſides, and forced them into concealment in order to eſcape their rage.

* This ſum makes one million ninety-three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds ſterling. Some perſons pretend that the porte reckoned only ſix thouſand purſes, or ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling. But the procedure of the court of Vienna is not at all the leſs odious.

But

But it will be neceſſary to ſpeak ſomewhat more particularly on this ſubject. It is well known that the turkiſh dominions, whether from a want of due attention to cleanlineſs, or from whatever other cauſe, are more ſubject to this malady than the countries of Europe. The ruſſian army, after defeating the Turks, on their entering their territories and towns as conquerors, were met by the contagion, and brought it with them to their country; where the folly of ſeveral of their generals contributed to its propagation, as if they thought, by a military word of command to alter the nature of things. Lieutenant-general Stofeln, at Yaſſy, where the peſtilence raged in the winter of 1770, iſſued peremptory orders, that its name ſhould not be pronounced: he even obliged the phyſicians and the ſurgeons to draw up a declaration in writing that it was only a ſpotted fever. One honeſt ſurgeon, of the name of Kluge, refuſed to ſign it. In this manner the ſeaſon of prevention was neglected; the men fell dead upon the road in heaps. Several thouſand ruſſian ſoldiers were by this means carried off: the number of burghers that died was never known, as crowds of them had run into the country and into the heart of the foreſts. At length the havoc of death reached the general's own people; he remained true to his perſuaſion, left the town, and went into the more perilous camp, but his intrepidity availed him nothing; he died of the plague in

July 1771. Affiſtance now arrived; but it was too late: almoſt all the ſick were ſent to die in lazarets. The deſertion of the place was the only remaining remedy. Two regiments of infantry and one battalion amounted only to four hundred men. To the ſame ſmall number were likewiſe in September the regiments at Khotyim reduced, alſo from want of precaution. The baggages that had been packed up in the time of the plague were brought out and opened, that the ſoldiers who had ſerved the campaign in their waiſtcoats alone might have their coats againſt winter; the clothes were ſo infected, that the people who were employed in unfolding them were immediately attacked with mortal ulcers. In Kief none of the phyſicians or ſurgeons had ever ſeen the plague; they therefore took it for a putrid ſpotted fever. Afterwards, but when too late, they were better adviſed. The free intercourſe at the markets and in the churches had already univerſally ſpread the miaſma. Add to this, the ſoldiers were not reſtrained from robbing the infected houſes of the dead; thus infecting themſelves and others. Even the commandant was negligent of his duty in not taking care, by regulations and puniſhments, that the houſes were duly cleanſed and ventilated; nay, he was covetous enough to cauſe whole cheſts of linen and other goods to be brought out of theſe houſes, and ſtowed in the vaults of his. The governor gave riſe to a ſhame-

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ful and ſtupid piece of ſuperſtition, to which he was perſuaded by a turkiſh officer taken priſoner, who purchaſed his freedom by it. This man wrote tickets, containing theſe words: "O great "Muhammed, have pity for this once on the "chriſtians, for the ſake of our deliverance from "captivity, and free them ſoon from the peſti-"lence!" The governor cauſed the writing to be ſtuck on poles againſt the belfries of the chriſtian churches; the people truſted to the remedy, and were ſtill more careleſs of themſelves than before: the peſtilence, therefore, naturally ſpread farther and wider. Within a few months of the year 1770, one quarter of the town alone loſt upwards of ſix thouſand perſons.

With ſuch miſerable doings, it is no wonder that the dreadful diſtemper came by the army from Poland and from the Ukraine, about chriſtmas 1770, even to Moſco. Unfortunately here too at the beginning, an ukaſe was printed and publiſhed, to aſſure the people that there was no peſtilence, and that a falſe alarm had been wickedly raiſed among the burghers. Beſides, ſome phyſicians and ſurgeons maintained the ſame thing much later. But when the empreſs was informed of the truth of the matter, ſhe diſpatched aſſiſtance with all ſpeed to Kief and to Moſco. The calamity had already riſen to its height in this great metropolis. The principal families quitted it betimes, went into the country, and with them all that

were able: the former might indeed have gone out of clean houſes; but who would anſwer for the others? Hence the contagion was ſpread through the neighbouring villages and towns, where at leaſt thirty thouſand perſons periſhed. But it may be computed, that in Moſco, only the fourth part of the ordinary number of its inhabitants were left alive: however, afterwards, in December 1771, juſt upon the ſtopping of the plague, it was found by calculation, that upwards of ſixty thouſand died there within a year not yet complete. The dead lay for three or four days in the ſtreets where they had fallen, or where they had been thrown out from the houſes; as the police had neither carts nor people enough to carry them away. The worthy general Yerapkin was making every exertion in his power, when in September the empreſs, who, as it is expreſſed in the proclamation, preferred the welfare of her ſubjects to every other conſideration, in this perilous time ſent her favourite Gregory Orlof, with extraordinary full powers, to check the further incurſions of the malady of that place, and to put an end to the evil on the ſpot. On this preſſing exigency the ſum of an hundred thouſand rubles was immediately iſſued. Orlof went daily to the ſenate; and every week a ukaſe came out. He appointed a commiſſion of health, of which, beſides a general and a ſtate-counſellor, the moſt ſkilful phyſicians were members. In addition to the

the two peſt-houſes, monaſteries and palaces were turned into lazarets, a building was appropriated to orphan children from the infected houſes, ſeveral of the public offices were converted into places for the keeping of quarantine, and other ſalutary meaſures were adopted. At theſe eſtabliſhments the neceſſary perſons were put immediately upon ſtipends; and all phyſicians and ſurgeons who were conſpicuous for their diligence and zeal were handſomely rewarded. A new turn was given to the whole buſineſs; and all the precautions for ſafety were viſibly attended with due effects. But methods of cure were ſtill apparently not to be found: very few of ſuch as once caught the infection eſcaped with their lives; their being incloſed, however, prevented its farther progreſs. It was only the ſevere winter that put an end to the calamity in Moſco, as well as in the other infected places. At the beginning of September, in Moſco, died every day eight hundred perſons; about the middle of October ſeven hundred to ſix hundred; the 21ſt of October only four hundred. The froſt continued to grow more intenſe: on the 15th of November the plague carried off one hundred and fifty perſons; on the 30th ſtill ſeventy-five: but on the 4th of December only ten died, and ſo continually fewer: two, three, five, and on ſome intervening days, not even one; till the 6th of Januarry 1772, when the plague entirely ceaſed.—In the night of the 30th of December,

during a violent ſtorm of wind, a fire broke out in the imperial palace, inhabited by the newly-appointed governor, prince Volkonſky. As the ſtructure was chiefly of timber, the whole of it, together with the church, was entirely conſumed.

A more calamitous hiſtory of this unfortunate time to Moſco ſtill remains to be related. It ſhould ſeem as if the afflictive viſitations to which the human race is ſubject from the courſe of Nature, and to which nature herſelf at length applies the moſt effectual remedies, were not ſufficient; the moſt horrid diſtortion of mind, fanaticiſm, muſt be brought in to increaſe the calamity. The ſuperſtitious populace in this metropolis deſpiſed the precautions recommended by government, and the preſcriptions of the phyſicians. The latter, eſpecially ſuch as were foreigners, frequently, as they paſſed through the ſtreets, were not ſure of their lives. Prayers to the pictures of the ſaints were held to be the only true methods of cure*. This, which at firſt was no

* It is difficult to imagine to what length the Ruſſians carry their fanaticiſm for theſe pictures of the ſaint, which they call bohgs or gods. The figure of ſome ſaint is painted in gaudy colours on a piece of board, and the ſilver, gold, or diamonds about the hands and face of it conſtitute its value. When a Ruſſian enters a room, the firſt thing he does is to ſalute the god, which is placed againſt the wall in one corner, by bowing and croſſing himſelf. St. Nicholas, St. John the baptiſt, St. Sergius, and St. Alexander Neſſky, are the figures in moſt requeſt except

no more than an unhappy folly, ſoon grew into a criminal fury. In September, a fortnight before the arrival of Gregory Orlof, a hot-brained enthuſiaſt of the vulgar claſs of people, got together a number of the rabble, and declared to them that the picture of God's mother, near the Varvarſkoï gate (the bride-gate of St. Barbara leading to a chapel) had appeared to him, complaining of neglect in the worſhip of it, and promiſing by

except the bogoroditza, the mother of God. Every one has his particular patron, to which he applies in caſes of need. When his neighbours ſee that he ſucceeds in the culture of his fields or in trade, they borrow or hire his god, to which they attribute his proſperity. They then pay the borrowed figure all ſorts of reverence and offerings. There are in ſome towns god markets, and the ſole difference between the chaffering, is, that in this the word money muſt never be pronounced. Some people will never go to their daily labour, or ſet out on a journey, without taking their god with them; and if a ſtranger call at their houſe in the mean time, and aſks to ſalute the *bog*, the wife replies that he is gone into the fields, or on a journey. St. George is a protector of horned cattle. The horſes are looked after by St. Anthony, and the fiſh by St. Jonas: one cures one diſeaſe and another another.—But perhaps it is unjuſt to deride any religion for its ſuperſtitions; all national religious eſtabliſhments have them under one form or another;

Facies non omnibus una
Nec diverſa tamen, qualem decet eſſe ſororum.

The ruſſian peaſants, notwithſtanding, are extremely tolerant. "Your God," ſay they to thoſe who are not of the ſame religion with them, "your God commands you to ſerve him "thus: our God orders us differently."

a miracle

a miracle to quell the peſtilence if that worſhip was zealouſly revived. At this gate he continued ſtanding and declared the ſame thing to the prieſts and paſſengers as they paſſed through it. The ſtory was ſpread from one to the other, and none of the hearers thought of raiſing a doubt whether or not the man was in his right mind. The faithful from all parts of the town flocked in aſtoniſhing multitudes to St. Barbara's gate, addreſſing the picture in vociferous cries, bringing ornaments of dreſs to hang about it, and on that and the following days made many conſiderable preſents to it in gold and jewels. Now began proceſſions, which were continued in endleſs ſucceſſion. The ſick particularly preſſed forward on this occaſion, and ſuch as were not ſick mingled among them. The dæmon of peſtilence could have found no better a helpmate than the dæmon of ſuperſtition. The primate of Moſco, the archhierèy or archbiſhop Amvroſi, (Ambroſius,) a virtuous and enlightened man, wiſhing to put an end to this dreadful commotion, applied for aſſiſtance to general Yerapkin, who gave him five ſoldiers. Theſe he ſent in ſilence late in the winter-evening to the Varvarſkōï gate, to fetch away the picture that was now become the cauſe of ſuch public affliction. But neither night nor day was the gate free from a fanatical tumult before the painted mother of God. The ſoldiers were driven off. The mob poured invectives on the archhierèy; and, one and all

all crying out that he was an heretic, ran to the church-belfries and rang all the bells, to rouſe the whole populace of the city, and bring them together to inform them of the intended violation of the holy figure. Every one roſe in haſte, and ran into the ſtreets imagining it to be an alarm of fire; but upon inquiry were informed of what had happened; the prudent were but few in number, and the reſt made a common cauſe with the inſurgents and joined the throng. The prelate in the mean time had fled to the Donſkoï monaſtery without the city. Unfortunately, a child, ſeeing him paſs by, ran and told where he was. The wild rabble tumultuouſly ran thither, ruſhed into the church, and found the archbiſhop in the celebration of divine worſhip. Neither the place, nor the ſtation, nor the age of the man, neither his dreſs nor his preſent employment, made any impreſſion on the enthuſiaſtic barbarians; they fell upon the venerable prelate, threw him to the ground, beat him on the head, and completed his murder with knives. The body remained till the following day lying before the gate of the monaſtery. Some of the ring leaders in this ſhocking tranſaction were taken up and knooted to death.

The furious multitude now ran back into the city. A party of them attacked the Daniilofskoï monaſtery, now converted into a lazaret, drove the peſtilent out of it, and ill-treated the ſurgeons.

The

The ſame thing they did at the quarantine houſe. The archiepiſcopal reſidence was plundered, the moſt valuable of the goods were taken away, the reſt deſtroyed: the ſtore-cellars under it, hired by a merchant for wine and other liquors, were emptied. Several officers who attempted to check their exceſſes, turned back with bleeding heads. The madneſs increaſed every moment, and the cry was now againſt the phyſicians and ſurgeons, whom they imagined to have occaſioned the peſtilence. An italian dancing-maſter happened to come in their way: he muſt certainly be a doctor; they broke both his arms and his legs, and in that condition inhumanly left him lying in the ſtreet. The houſe of a phyſician was attacked and plundered. They then proceeded to the principal hoſpital, from which the director and attendants, and even the ſoldiers who amounted to a hundred men with loaded fire-arms, all ran away. The phyſicians and ſurgeons had already made their eſcape into the country.—But now, towards evening, the brave general Yerapkin, at the head of a hundred and fifty ſoldiers, carbineers and huſſars, with two field pieces, marched up to the turbulent crew; the fight was obſtinate and laſted till midnight: two hundred and fifty rebels were laid down upon the ſtreet, three hundred taken priſoners, and of thoſe that diſperſed many were afterwards found wounded and dead. Early on the following morning, the general paraded at

the head of his men with drawn ſabres through the ſtreets of Moſco, and placed picquets in proper places. The day after, a regiment of infantry, from the villages, entered the town. The governor, the deputy-governor, police-maſter, general of artillery, and all whoſe duty it was to be vigilant in preſerving peace and order in the city, had prudently forſaken Moſco. Catharine rewarded the brave Yerapkin in a truly imperial manner.

It is eaſier to imagine than to deſcribe the ſtate of that enormous city while theſe tumults laſted; when the mind of every man was oppreſſed with grief at the dreadful viſitation of the plague, knowing that each day eight hundred perſons fell around him. But during this confuſion it was impoſſible to think of enumerating the dead, or of viſiting the ſick. The number of thoſe who died muſt have been very great, as the peſtilence increaſed beyond all proportion by the confluence of the people. From the 1ſt to the 9th of October, the calculation was renewed, and the dead were computed at five thouſand four hundred: till the numbers afterwards decreaſed in the above-mentioned ratio, by the counteraction of the froſt:—At the re-appearance of ſpring 1772, the return of the calamity was apprehended; and the care of the government was therefore redoubled. It was publiſhed throughout the city, that whoever kept in concealment any goods or other things

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in houſes that had been infected, even though they were ſtolen, he might freely produce them; and, inſtead of puniſhment, ſhould receive from ten to twenty rubles: farther, that ſuch articles as had been in the poſſeſſion of infected perſons, and conſequently muſt be burnt, ſhould be paid for according to their full value. This had the deſired effect: the people very readily produced what they had, according to the tenor of the proclamation, as by ſo doing they got money and loſt nothing. The viſiting of the ſick, whatever was the nature of their complaints, was ſedulouſly continued. Travellers underwent a ſtrict examination, and were obliged to remain a certain time in quarantine houſes, of which, between Moſco and Peterſburg alone, there were no leſs than ſeven. However, at the cloſe of January 1772, the plague had entirely diſappeared, which, according to ſome ſtatements, during its continuance, from December 1771, to December 1772, had coſt the ruſſian empire one hundred and thirty-three thouſand two hundred and ninety-nine perſons.

Great praiſe was certainly due to count Gregory Orlof for his conduct while the plague was raging at Moſco. The empreſs, as we have ſeen, had already ſent aſſiſtance to ſtop the progreſs of the contagion; but it was attended with no effect. It was neceſſary that ſome man of authority ſhould go thither to awe the populace, and make them ſubmit to the regulations preſcribed, and to the obſervance

obſervance of more cleanlineſs than uſual. Count Orlof had the courage to go and brave both the peſtilence and the ſuperſtitious fury of the people. He repaired to Moſco with extraordinary promptitude; he prohibited and prevented all kinds of aſſemblies; he himſelf viſited the perſons afflicted with the epidemical diſtemper; he procured them all the aſſiſtance they wanted; and he took particular care to order the ſurgeons and the officers who ſeconded him, to ſee to the burning of the clothes of the ſick who fell victims to this terrible ſcourge; till the malady at laſt yielded to the unceaſing attentions of count Gregory Orlof, and the ſeverity of the winter.

On his return to St. Peterſburg, the count found in Catharine a grateful ſovereign. That princeſs cauſed a triumphal arch * to be erected, and a medal to be ſtruck, as memorials to poſterity of the ſervice he had rendered his country.

The peſtilence had not only attacked the interior parts of Ruſſia; the ruſſian and ottoman armies, who were fighting on the banks of the Danube, were infected with it. They ſpread it in Poland; and this it was that ſerved as a pretence for the invaſion which had long been meditating by the king of Pruſſia.

* The triumphal arch is at the entrance to Tzarſko-ſelo, with this inſcription: "Moſco delivered from the contagion by "Orlof."

The

The empreſs was adding from day to day to the weight of the yoke which ſhe had lain upon Poland. Her troops purſued on all ſides the routed confederates of Bar, and pillaged or ravaged their poſſeſſions. That princeſs herſelf did not diſdain to partake in the ſpoil. They carried off the famous library of prince Radzivil, containing an invaluable collection of lithuanian hiſtory, and it was tranſported to Peterſburg, whence it undoubtedly will never return. But at the very time that ſo odious a depredation was carrying on, Catharine tranſmitted to Warſaw declarations, in which ſhe ſpoke of nothing but her equity, her beneficence, and the deſires ſhe was cheriſhing for the pacification of Poland.

The Poles, irritated at the tyranny of the Ruſſians, were inceſſantly making new efforts to free themſelves from it. They believed their unhappy king was in concert with the empreſs; and in that perſuaſion they attempted to revenge upon him the miſeries which ſhe was bringing on them. The confederates had elected for their general a poliſh nobleman named Pulauſky, a man of conſummate intrepidity, and ſo paſſionately devoted to the cauſe of liberty, that he made no heſitation of ſerving the moſt righteous of cauſes by criminal means.

Pulauſky reſolved to get poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, and truſted the execution of his project

to

to three other confederates*, of whose boldness and capacity he was well acquainted. After having taken an oath to their general either to deliver to him the king, or to put him to death if they could not bring him off alive, the three chiefs and forty dragoons, disguised as peasants, entered Warsaw by different routes. They learnt on the following sunday † that the king was to pass the evening at prince Chartorinsky's, his uncle. Some of them then went and posted themselves without the city, while the others were lurking in ambush along the way which the king was to pass. At about ten o'clock at night, as that prince, accompanied by fourteen or fifteen persons, and with one of his aides-de-camp in his carriage, were returning to the palace, all at once the conspirators advanced, and bade the coachman stop. At the same time pistols were several times discharged at the carriage. One of the heyducques being struck with a ball fell down‡. The rest of the king's suite, without excepting the aide-de-camp, took to flight. One of the assassins fired a pistol at the king, and pierced his hat. Another made a stroke at his head, and gave him a deep wound. After this they took him by the collar, and dragged him between their horses along

* Lukaufsky, Stravensky, and Kosinsky.

† The 3d of September.

‡ He died the day after.

the darkeſt ſtreets. Perceiving ſoon that he began to breathe hard, and that it was impoſſible for him to keep up with them on foot, they made him get upon a horſe, and on their coming to the moat which ſurrounds Warſaw, they forced him to take the leap with them. The horſe on which the king rode, fell and broke his leg. The king received a hurt in his foot. They then mounted his majeſty on another horſe. One of the chiefs plucked off his order of the black eagle of Pruſſia, and the croſs of diamonds that was appendant to the ribband. This done, the greater part of the conſpirators diſperſed. Seven of them alone, under the orders of Koſinſky, remained with the king, and wandered about with him a long time in the dark, endeavouring to avoid the beaten paths. Soon after, they found themſelves in a foreſt only one league diſtant from Warſaw. The voices of ſome ruſſian patroles were heard. The conſpirators were frightened, and fled. The king remained alone with Koſinſky: but, not daring to call for aſſiſtance, for fear that Koſinſky might kill him, he tried to perſuade him to let him eſcape. Koſinſky heſitated a conſiderable time. His oath ſtood in his way. At length, however, he yielded to the ſolicitations of the king; and, after having implored his pardon on his knees, he conducted him to a mill which ſtood at no great diſtance. The king, without making himſelf known, immediately wrote a billet, which he diſ-

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patched by a countryman to the colonel of his guards.

Warſaw was in the utmoſt conſternation. The king's hat had been found all covered with blood; this naturally led to the belief that his majeſty was dead. But as ſoon as it was heard that he had eſcaped from his aſſaſſins, the people gave themſelves up to tranſports of joy.

Several of the villains were taken, and periſhed on the ſcaffold. Koſinſky obtained his pardon. He retired into Italy, where the king ſettled on him a penſion. As to general Pulaufsky*, he publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he declared that he had taken no ſhare in the atrocious attempt againſt the poliſh monarch. This declaration was believed by no one.

The danger which Staniſlaus Auguſtus had run, furniſhed the Ruſſians with a new pretext for purſuing the confederates of Bar, and for preparing the diſmemberment of Poland. But was Catharine in want of pretexts? It will preſently be ſeen that ſhe had ſo ordered matters as to be able to do without them.

1772. The Ruſſians and the Ottomans were equally in want of peace. Their armies, weakened

* Pulaufsky went afterwards to America, where he had the command of a legion in the ſervice of the united ſtates; and being on a viſit to M. d'Eſtaing at the ſiege of Savannah, in 1779, he was killed by a cannon-ball by the ſide of that general.

By numerous battles, by ſucceſſive fatigues, and by the contagious diſtemper, were always recruiting and always diminiſhing in greater proportion. The ſquadron of Alexius Orlof ſtill maintained the dominion of the grecian ſeas; but the long ſojourn of the Ruſſians in a climate ſo different from their own, and the intemperance in which they indulged, had brought on an epidemic diſeaſe which threatened to carry off every ſailor of the fleet. The capudan-paſha, ambitious to retaliate the diſaſters he had ſuffered, was buſily employed in preparing new armaments in Conſtantinople, and was in hopes to bring out againſt his conquerors a ſquadron more formidable than that which had fallen a prey to the flames. Baron Tot, a french officer in the ſervice of the porte, overcame the ignorance of the Turks, and had introduced into their arſenals ſuch order and activity as was dangerous to their enemies. The valiant Muſſoum Oglou had riſen, for the ſecond time, to the poſt of grand vizir, and had reſumed the command of the army of the Danube. Notwithſtanding this, the two powers entered upon a negotiation by the intervention of the auſtrian and pruſſian miniſters. An armiſtice was agreed upon*; and a congreſs was appointed to meet at Fokſhiani.

* This armiſtice was ſigned by the ruſſian miniſter Simolin, and by Seïd Abdukerim effendi Mukabedladzi, grand notary of the divan.

This

This appeared to be a favourable opportunity to the ſchemes of count Gregory Orlof. He procured the honour of being ſent to treat with the plenipotentiaries of the divan. He had long been deſirous of ſharing the throne which he had ſecured to Catharine. He thought that, by obtaining peace for Ruſſia, he ſhould acquire an everlaſting claim upon the gratitude of the empire, and ſurmount the difficulties that had been oppoſed to his ambition. But it was this preciſely which gave birth to new ones.

Catharine had been, and was ſtill, much attached to Orlof. Orlof, on the contrary, had never felt any affection for Catharine, but what aroſe from gratitude and ambition. Proud of the favour of his ſovereign, he ſhewed himſelf zealous to deſerve it: but when once he thought that he had acquired ſufficient grounds for his pretenſions, his ardour began to cool; and he even aſſumed a diſtant behaviour. The more Catharine wiſhed to bring him back to his uſual attentions, the more he ſeemed inclined to retreat, and to ſeek his amuſement in the company of other ladies. The empreſs could not but reſent this ungrateful conduct, and be ſhocked at the inſenſibility whence it proceeded. However, on account of her fondneſs for Bobrinſky, the child of Orlof, ſhe did not diſcard him at once. This boy ſhe privately brought up in one of the ſuburbs of the city, often going to ſee him under a borrowed name, and

in an artful disguise. It was said that, to remedy his inconstancy, and from affection to the child, a proposal was made him of a clandestine marriage: that he rejected the offer with disdain, presuming himself not unworthy of sitting beside her on a throne which he at first procured her, and had hitherto upheld. Catharine, surprised, dissembled her displeasure for a time; but conceiving that the pride of her favourite might be attended with consequences fatal to her repose, she resolved, without farther delay, to get the better of an attachment which exposed her to too great humiliation.

Though there was no open misunderstanding between Panin and count Gregory Orlof, he was not the less desirous of the downfall of this favourite. Too sagacious, and certainly too timid, to attack him to his face, he missed no opportunity for giving him a side-blow. Orlof was far from imitating the minister in this procedure. He never hated any one, though he was hated by many. His arrogance had procured him a great number of enemies; his favour had raised him up many more. All were pleased at seeing him retire from court; and the empress partook in the satisfaction of her courtiers. She was in hopes that his absence would completely put an end to the remainder of the attachment she had cherished for him.

Panin,

Panin, who attentively watched the inclination of her majeſty, was not long in perceiving that ſhe often looked with complacency on a ſub-lieutenant of the guards, named Vaſſiltſchikof. The thought immediately occurred to him of bringing forward this young man to the overthrow of Orlof. Zakhar Chernichef*, to whom the arrogance of the favourite was ſtill more odious than to Panin, gladly ſeconded the ſcheme of the miniſter. Both of them thought that the grand duke, who was not ignorant that Orlof had the preſumption to aſpire to the throne, would not fail to behold with ſatisfaction whatever had a tendency to keep him from it. Every art was therefore employed to flatter the new inclination of the empreſs. Orlof was at the ſame time repreſented to her as a man of unbounded ambition, who had only ſolicited to be employed in negotiating the peace at Fokſhiani, in order to betray the intereſts of Ruſſia, by artfully procuring for himſelf the ſovereignty of Moldavia and Valakhia. It was the eaſier to raiſe ſuſpicions againſt him in the mind of Catharine, as ſhe found his rival more agreeable to her from day to day.

Vaſſiltſchikof pleaſed becauſe he was young and well made: but he was deficient in intellectual improvement, in talents, in experience, and even

* Zachariah Chernichef was brother to the Ivan Chernichef who was firſt ambaſſador at London, and then placed at the head of the marine.

in boldneſs. Perhaps, if it had depended on himſelf alone, he would never have ſucceeded with the empreſs: but he was not left without ſupport. Prince Baratinſky, expert in the arts of intrigue, was on this occaſion neither ſparing of his counſels nor of contrivances *. Vaſſiltſchikof was benefited by his cares; as his docility ſerved him inſtead of merit. The empreſs was ſo ſatisfied with him, that ſhe appointed him her chamberlain, made him magnificent preſents, and treated him often in public with a familiarity that eaſily betrayed the underſtanding which ſubſiſted between them.

When Catharine propoſed to the imperious Orlof to enter into ſecret nuptials, that favourite was pleaſed with the thought that his refuſal would only ſharpen the deſire of the ſovereign, and that the acceſs to the throne would be eaſier to him. Accuſtomed to an affection of which he had the tendereſt pledges, he imagined it impoſſible to loſe the heart of the empreſs. What was he to think on learning that ſhe had taken advantage of his abſence for accepting the officiouſneſs of a new admirer? His mind was at firſt divided between aſtoniſhment and rage: but his pride ſoon came to his relief; and he thought that his preſence would be ſufficient to revive a flame which could

* Prince Baratinſky, one of the aſſaſſins of the unhappy Peter III. took upon him to bring about the firſt interview of the empreſs and her new favourite.

not

not be quite extinct. Full of this idea, he forgot the negotiations, the peace, all the concerns of the empire, and left Fokſhiani without even aſking permiſſion of the empreſs, and arrived at the gates of Peterſburg. At the inſtant of his appearance, the officer on guard advanced towards his carriage, and ſhewed him the order which he had not to let him enter the city. Orlof kept a profound ſilence, and took the road to Gatſchina* one of his country-ſeats.

Two days previous to the coming of Orlof to Peterſburg, intelligence was received that he had quitted Fokſhiani. This ſudden return had excited much unneaſineſs at court. The empreſs, well acquainted with the violence of his temper, and apprehenſive that he might make his appearance in ſpite of her, gave orders to double the guard of the palace, and to place centinels at the gate of the new favourite. Not yet put completely at eaſe by theſe precautions, ſhe cauſed the locks of his apartments to be changed, of which Orlof had the key. But theſe cares were uſeleſs: there was nothing to fear from Orlof. The moment it was known that he was out of favour, he had not a partizan left, and his enemies ſtepped forward from all quarters.

Orlof beheld his ſituation in the full extent of its danger; but his courage remained unſhaken.

* The ſame that is now the ſummer reſidence of the tzar Paul.

When

When count Zakhar Chernichef came, in the name of the empreſs, to require the demiſſion of his employments, he haughtily refuſed to comply. Her majeſty could eaſily puniſh the ſubject who reſiſted her will: ſhe rather choſe to treat with indulgence the man for whom ſhe had long entertained a regard. A compromiſe was entered upon with Orlof; and, overcome by the bounty which his ſovereign ſtill vouchſafed to ſhew him, he conſented to retire from Peterſburg, and ſet out upon a journey through various parts of Europe. As a recompence for his ſubmiſſion, he received one hundred thouſand rubles, the brevet of a penſion of an hundred and fifty thouſand, a magnificent ſervice of plate, and an eſtate with ſix thouſand peaſants upon it. He had already obtained a patent of prince of the roman empire. Catharine choſe that he ſhould take the title, deſirous, doubtleſs, that her former favourite ſhould appear to the eyes of foreign nations with a ſplendor worthy of the ſituation which he had enjoyed *.

* Gregory Orlof diſplayed the utmoſt pomp and magnificence when on his travels. He appeared at Paris in a coat all the buttons whereof were large diamonds, and with a ſword having the hilt alſo ſet with diamonds; at Spa he quite eclipſed the duke de Chartres (ſince known under the names of Orleans and Egalité) and all the other princes there, and he played for ſuch ſtakes as frightened the moſt intrepid gameſters. He afterwards made his appearance at Verſailles at a ball given on occaſion of the marriage of madame Clothilde, dreſſed in a plain frock of coarſe cloth.

This part of Catharine's conduct seems to indicate a degree of weakness. But no: it was not inconsistent with the firmness of her character to yield to circumstances, when a different conduct must oblige her to compliance. Knowing that, by punishing prince Orlof, she would intimidate all those who had served her, she rather chose to persuade them that her gratitude was even paramount to her affections.

CHAP. VIII.

Rupture of the congreſs of Fokſhiani.—Conferences at Bukhareſt.—Partition of Poland.—Peace of Kainardgi.—Emigration of the Kalmuks.—Diſmiſſal of the favourite Vaſſiltſchikof.—Duke Anthony Ulric refuſes his liberty.—Firſt marriage of the grand duke.—Journey of Diderot to St. Peterſburg.—Magnificence of Catharine.—Deſcription of her perſon.—Her way of life.—Patriotic exertions.

THE congreſs of Fokſhiani was opened * in ſuch a manner as to afford great hopes of an approaching peace. The ottoman miniſters preſented the Ruſſians with ſuperb carpets, many rich ſtuffs, and excellent arms: and Oſman effendi, who firſt broke

* The congreſs opened the 2d of Auguſt. The plenipotentiaries were under tents; and the conferences were held in a kioſk, which the Ruſſians had cauſed to be conſtructed for that purpoſe. Fokſhiani is at the diſtance of about ſixteen miles to the north of Bukhareſt in Valakhia. Nothing could afford a ſtronger contraſt, than the magnificence of the ruſſian miniſters, oppoſed to the ottoman ſimplicity. The former approached in four grand coaches, preceded by huſſars, and attended by one hundred and ſixty domeſtics ſuitably habited. The turkiſh miniſters were on horſeback, with about ſixty ſervants, as plainly appareled and accoutred as themſelves. Prince Orlof was all over

broke silence, said, " That the grand signor his " master had recommended him to serve GOD, and " to love peace."

The Russians offered to Osman and his colleagues diamonds and precious stones elegantly set, a variety of trinkets of gold, and a quantity of valuable furs; on delivering which they answered, that they also were lovers of peace and justice. However, they demanded such great sacrifices, that the Turks were disgusted with their proposals. After much fruitless altercation, the plenipotentiaries separated.

Some time afterwards, the negotiations were resumed at Bukharest between marshal Romantzof and the grand vizir Mussum Oglou. These two warriors, who had so often fought against each

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over one blaze of jewels: on his breast was the empress's portrait set with brilliants, together with the ensigns of the several orders with which he had been invested; all of which, as well as his epaulet and buckles, and several other parts of his dress, shone with diamonds. On the other hand, Osman effendi was clothed in a robe of green camlet faced with ermine, and had nothing to distinguish him but a gold-headed cane. It would appear as if riches and magnificence had displayed their treasures in the wilds of Scythia; and that ancient simplicity had retired to the voluptuous nations of Asia. M. Obreskof, late minister at the porte, attended prince Orlof. The austrian and prussian ministers at the same place, having received a present of fifty purses, amounting to about twenty-five thousand dollars each, from the grand signor, besides a fixed daily allowance for their expences, attended also at the opening of the congress.

other, were not ignorant how much their armies were in want of reſt; but their conferences were as unfruitful as thoſe of Fokſhiani. The term of the armiſtice was expired. The pacificators had no longer any thoughts of war.

During all the time that theſe negotiations were going on, new preparations had been making for recommencing hoſtilities. The Ruſſians had concluded, with a new khan of the Krimea, a treaty by which that prince declared himſelf independent on the grand ſignor, and threw himſelf under the protection of the empreſs. The porte, incenſed at the defection of the Tartars, no leſs than at the ceſſion they had made to the Ruſſians of the forts of Kertſch and Yenikaly, which command the ſtraights of Keſa, together with the territories belonging to them, ſent into the Euxine a ſtrong ſquadron of galliots and chebecs. Catharine had already ſent thither a conſiderable fleet, and had diſpatched it to ſeveral engliſh and dutch officers, particularly the captains Denniſon, Perry, and Kinſbergen, under the command of admiral ſir Charles Knowles.

But an object of higher importance at that time occupied the mind of Catharine. She ſaw herſelf at length on the point of reaping the fruit of the troubles and diviſions which ſhe had been ſowing among the Poles. For a long time in agreement with the king of Pruſſia, ſhe left to that prince the care of procuring the conſent of the court of

of Vienna to the diſmemberment of Poland. She was, moreover, very ſure that ſhe would have but few obſtacles to overcome on the part of the other powers. France had then a miniſter not much endowed with foreſight*. England was bound to Ruſſia by its commerce. The ſtates bordering on the Baltic might be jealous at ſeeing the Ruſſians and the Pruſſians gaining ports upon that ſea; but none of them had either the means or the temerity to make head againſt them. The Ottomans were ſcarcely more to be dreaded. How ſhould they be in a condition to ſend ſuccours to Poland, when they were ſo badly able to defend themſelves, and ſaw themſelves attacked in all parts of their vaſt empire? Catharine, in ſhort, was only afraid of the refuſal of the court of Vienna; but Frederic promiſed her the acceſſion of that court.

Frederic, without hazarding any thing, might make her that promiſe. He had been long acquainted, by the relations of his miniſters, with the character of the heir of the houſe of Auſtria.

When Joſeph II. in 1769, had an interview with him at Neiſs in Sileſia, the pruſſian monarch, profiting by the aſcendant he had acquired from

* The duke d'Aiguillon, who had been put at the head of the department of foreign affairs, was more qualified for paying attendance on the intrigues of the boudoir and court cabals, than to balance the intereſts of Europe, and to ſupport the honour of the french nation.

his

his experience and his fame, propoſed to the young empèror the firſt partition of Poland. Jõſeph II. pleaſed with the idea of extending his dominion, heard with complacency the project of the king of Pruſſia; but deferred to enter into any engagement to concur in it, till he ſhould have conferred upon the ſubject with the old prince Kaunitz, by whoſe counſels he was guided. Kaunitz applauded the predatory plan. Some time after this* the monarchs had a ſecond interview at Neuſtadt in Auſtria; and the diſmemberment of Poland was finally ſettled.

The plague, which had been ravaging the frontiers of Poland ſince the foregoing year, furniſhed the king of Pruſſia with an occaſion for advancing his troops pretty far into poliſh Pruſſia. The emperor had the ſame pretext for marching his into ſuch of the provinces as lay moſt conveniently for him.

Joſeph II. ſeemed about to give ſuccours to the confederates of Bar. His laſt treaty obliged him even to join with the Turks againſt the Ruſſians; but that prince entertained very different deſigns; and he was ſo well practiſed in the arts of diſſimulation, that the confederates, deceived by his promiſes, regarded for a long time as their defenders the ſoldiers who were come to make a prey of their country.

* In 1770.

The

The foreign armies extended from one end of Poland to the other, and acted equally againſt the confederates, who were ſoon obliged to diſperſe. The greater part of them returned to their homes. The reſt went abroad to publiſh among foreign nations their complaints and their misfortunes.

All Europe had its eyes fixed on Poland. It could not be conceived why three formidable powers, in a time of profound peace, ſhould ſeize upon a country, the independence whereof had been guaranteed by the moſt ſolemn treaties. Mankind were likewiſe at a loſs to know what might be the drift of the negotiations which continually employed theſe powers. It was at length diſcovered. The miniſter of the emperor was the firſt who notified the treaty of Peterſburg to the king and the ſenate of Poland. The ambaſſador of Ruſſia and the envoy of Pruſſia preſented to them, almoſt immediately upon it, declarations in ſupport of that treaty*.

The conduct of the great partitioning powers gradually unfolded their deſigns during the negotiations at Fokſhiani. They proceeded ſilently in carrying on thoſe arrangements which they had lately concluded; while they ſeemed reſtrained by their enormity from making a public avowal of them. It ſeemed as if they endeavoured to

* See the Appendix No. XIII. at the end of this volume.

feel the general temper and diſpoſition of Europe: and by a climax of ſucceſſive exorbitancies to prevent the ſurpriſe which attends novelty, and prepare the public for thoſe greater which were ſtill to ſucceed. Deformity wears off by acquaintance; and perhaps they found it neceſſary to familiarize themſelves with their own deſigns, before they could arrive at a reſolution of expoſing them nakedly to the view of the world.

The time was at length arrived, when the actors in this ſtate farce had attained confidence enough to throw off their maſks, and to appear in their proper forms without any diſguiſe. The king of Pruſſia, who was leſs attentive to appearances, had for ſome time made no ſecret of his intention, and had dignified his acquiſitions, as if they had been countries lately diſcovered, by the title of New Pruſſia. A manifeſto was delivered at Warſaw *, by the ruſſian and pruſſian miniſters, in the name of their reſpective ſovereigns, which was ſeconded a few days after by the miniſter from the empreſs queen, in which the three powers openly avowed their intentions. This declaration was ſoon after ſucceeded by ſpecifications from the different powers of the countries which they had agreed reſpectively to appropriate.

It would afford little uſe or entertainment to enter into a long or particular diſcuſſion of thoſe

* Sept. 18th.

ſtate

ſtate formulas, which are publiſhed in compliance with eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, and to blindfold the vulgar, without any intention that they ſhould convey either truth or argument. The manifeſto ſets out with a detail of the laudable intentions and friendly offices of the empreſs of Ruſſia, in all of which ſhe is ſaid to have been either openly or tacitly ſeconded by the other two powers; general complaints are made of loſſes ſuſtained, and expences incurred, in conſequence of the frequent troubles in Poland; the ſpirit of diſcord which has ſeized the nation is greatly lamented, and a moving deſcription given of the miſeries it has undergone, and of its preſent deplorable ſituation; at the ſame time that the total diſſolution of the ſtate is foretold to be the conſequence of the preſent anarchy and diſorder, if not timely prevented. It is acknowledged, that this event would probably deſtroy the harmony and friendſhip at preſent ſubſiſting between the three great powers, which puts them under a neceſſity of taking a deciſive part in ſuch critical circumſtances, and with one accord, to take ſuch effectual meaſures as would re-eſtabliſh tranquillity and good order in Poland, and put the ancient conſtitution of that kingdom, and the liberties of the people, on a ſure and ſolid foundation.

Thus far, nothing can appear more generous or laudable than the conduct and intentions of the great allied powers. We are however ſoon

 informed,

informed, that as Poland is to be ſo highly benefited by the mutual friendſhip and harmony which now ſo happily ſubſiſts between them, it is alſo right they ſhould derive ſome advantage themſelves from this fortunate concord, while it laſts, the uncertainty of its continuance being moſt emphatically acknowledged. Thus circumſtanced, as they have reſpectively very conſiderable claims on the poſſeſſions of the republic, they will not expoſe them to the hazard of future poſſible contingencies, and have therefore determined among themſelves to aſſert thoſe rights and claims which each of them will hereafter be ready to juſtify in time and place, by authentic records, and ſolid reaſons.

That having reciprocally communicated their reſpective rights and claims, and being mutually convinced of their juſtice, they have determined to ſecure to themſelves a proportionable equivalent, by taking immediate and effectual poſſeſſion of ſuch parts of the territories of the republic, as may ſerve to fix *more natural* and *ſure bounds* between her and the three powers. They alſo promiſe that they will, hereafter, give an exact ſpecification of what they intend reſpectively to ſeize upon as an equivalent; and moſt generouſly diſcharge the Poles from all other debts, dues, demands, and claims, of whatever nature, whether on the poſſeſſions or ſubjects of the republic; at the ſame time inviting all ranks and orders of them

them to baniſh, or at leaſt ſuſpend, the ſpirit of diſcord and deluſion: in order, that a diet being legally aſſembled, they might co-operate with their ſaid majeſties, in eſtabliſhing, on a firm and ſolid foundation, the good order and tranquillity of the nation, and may at the ſame time ratify, by public acts, the exchange of the titles, pretenſions, and claims of the three powers, againſt the equivalents of which they have taken poſſeſſion.

It ſeemed by the delay in preſenting the ſpecifications, as well as by their ſubſequent conduct, that the uſurping powers had not been able in all this time to agree among themſelves upon the ſhares which they ſhould reſpectively ſeize of the ſpoil in the diviſion of this miſerable country. We accordingly find the ſame ſtudied obſcurity in theſe notifications, that are obſervable in the manifeſto.

The cauſes which excited an equivocal deſcription of limits did not, however, continue long to operate; the declarations themſelves being no longer conſidered as binding, than till the three powers could agree upon an arrangement more advantageous to themſelves.

Notice was given by the empreſs-queen in her ſpecification, that the count de Pergen was appointed commiſſary, plenipotentiary, and governor, in the new provinces, and the people were ſtrictly commanded to pay ready and chearful obedience

to every thing he ſhould ordain. They were alſo informed, that though the day was not yet appointed for their taking the oath of allegiance to her imperial majeſty, it ſhould however be ſoon determined upon: and they were charged, in the mean time, to conduct themſelves as quiet and obedient ſubjects, in the ſame manner as if the oath had been already adminiſtered; in failure of which they were threatened with thoſe puniſhments due to rebellious ſubjects.

The ſpecifications delivered by the empreſs of Ruſſia were as little adhered to as thoſe preſented by the empreſs-queen. She alſo, by way of indemnification and exchange for divers ancient rights, and juſt and indiſputable pretenſions, ſeized on various provinces and people, whom ſhe incorporated for ever with her empire.

The empreſs not only ſolemnly promiſed her new ſubjects the free and public exerciſe of their religion, and ſecurity in their property, but alſo declared, that looking upon them now as her dear children, ſhe rendered them all in general, and without exception, equal ſhares in all the rights, liberties, and prerogatives which her ancient ſubjects enjoy. In return for all theſe graces and benefits, it is only expected that they will render themſelves worthy of them, by a ſincere love of their new country, and an inviolable attachment to ſo magnanimous a ſovereign. All the inhabitants, from the higheſt to the loweſt, were at

the ſame time ſtrictly commanded to take a ſolemn oath of allegiance to her tzarian majeſty, in the courſe of a month; but if any of the nobility or landholders ſhould not chuſe to conform thereto, they were allowed three months to ſell their lands, and to retire freely; after which time, all unſold lands and goods were to be confiſcated. The declaration alſo ſecures to the jews the free exerciſe of their religion, promiſes that a ſtrict diſcipline ſhall be obſerved by the troops, and orders that the empreſs and the grand duke ſhould be prayed for in all the churches.

As the king of Pruſſia, it was ſuppoſed, would be conſidered as highly in the character of a royal philoſopher and writer, as in that of a warrior, a more clear and learned illuſtration of his rights was accordingly expected from him, than from the other partitioning powers. His ſpecifications were iſſued under the appellation of letters patent, and were addreſſed to the different orders and eſtates by name, whether eccleſiaſtical or ſecular, and to all the inhabitants in general of the territories of Pruſſia and Pomerania, hitherto poſſeſſed by the kings of Poland, and alſo to thoſe diſtricts on this ſide of the Nottée, hitherto appropriated to Great Poland.

In theſe letters, the king lays down the following poſitions, which, he ſays, are facts notorious to all who are converſant in hiſtory, viz. That the kings of Poland did many ages ago violently diſ-

ſeiſe the dukes of Pomerania of that part of the duchy called Pomerellia; and that they have alſo with equal injuſtice uſurped and detained a conſiderable diſtrict of the New Mark, lying on this ſide of the river Nottée; that the dukes of Stettin were the legal and natural heirs of the dukes of Dantzic; that the latter line being extinguiſhed, ſo early as the year 1295, their territories, which conſiſted of that city and Pomerellia, fell into the hands of the knights of the teutonic order, from whom (in the courſe of ſome ages) they paſſed into thoſe of the kings of Poland; by all which means the houſe of Stettin was deprived of its rights, and prevented ever after from recovering them; and that the houſe of Brandenburgh are the heirs and univerſal ſucceſſors of all thoſe dukes we have mentioned.

Without entering into the ſyſtem of northern juriſprudence, many objections will ariſe to claims founded upon theſe principles; among which the darkneſs of the hiſtory of ignorant and barbarous nations in thoſe remote times, and the uncertainty in attempting to trace marriages, ſettlements, and deſcents, through the families of petty lords, whoſe names are doubtfully preſerved in books of heraldry, and were ſcarcely heard of beyond their own diſtricts when they lived, are ſufficiently obvious. It might alſo be obſerved, that long and unimpeached poſſeſſion is acknowledged, by the univerſal conſent of mankind, as the moſt certain

certain and equitable title by which a right can be claimed in any thing, and would in itſelf be ſufficient to preclude any claims ſet up in the darkneſs, and founded upon the rubbiſh of a blind antiquity.

Hiſtorical facts, however, militate as ſtrongly againſt thoſe claims, as any reaſons drawn from their nature, or the opinions and practice of mankind. It appears that Meſtvin, the laſt duke of Dantzic, four years before his death, appointed his nephew Premiſlaus, then duke, and afterwards king of Poland, to be his heir, and to ſucceed to all his territories; that having communicated this diſpoſition to the ſtates of the country, they agreed to it, and were in his lifetime ſworn to Premiſlaus, who accordingly ſucceeded him, upon his death, in the year 1295. It alſo appears that neither the dukes of Stettin, nor thoſe of Volgaſt, who were the poſſeſſors of what is properly called Pomerania, ever pleaded their rights, if they had ſuch, or laid any claim to thoſe territories, though they frequently ſhifted their maſters, and were more than a century and a half in the poſſeſſion of the teutonic knights. It might not be unworthy of obſervation, that Premiſlaus ſucceeded to the territory of Pomerellia, one hundred and twenty-two years before Frederic, the burgrave of Nurenburgh, and anceſtor to the preſent royal family of Pruſſia, had purchaſed the marquiſate of Brandenburgh from the emperor Sigiſmund.

It

It is alſo a queſtion of much doubt, whether Pomerellia was ever conſidered as a part of Germany, much leſs as a fief of the duchy of Pomerania; the empire has always been exceſſively tenacious of its paramount rights, and its neglect of them in this inſtance would be as extraordinary as the ſilent acquieſcence of the dukes of Stettin in the loſs of a fief, which was guaranteed to them by its laws and conſtitution. Perhaps it may be needleſs to obſerve, that in the volumes of treaties, to which, in the courſe of ſeveral ages, the kings of Poland and the electors of Brandenburgh have been parties, no notice was ever taken of thoſe claims now made by the latter; that if any ſuch claims had really exiſted, they muſt have been long ſince cut off, by repeated and exact ſpecifications of limits and territories, or renounced, in common with all others, in return for thoſe valuable grants and conſiderations which the electoral houſe had the addreſs to obtain in its concerns with the republic; and that ſome of theſe treaties took in, either as parties or guarantees, almoſt all the great powers in Europe. Or if it ſhould be ſuppoſed, that thoſe claims might ariſe from the king's poſſeſſion of Ducal Pruſſia, it ſhould be remembered that his right to that province is founded upon no better title, than what proceeded from the perfidy and treachery of Albert of Brandenburgh, who having, in breach of his truſt and oath as grand maſter of the teutonic order,

order, betrayed the poſſeſſions which they had ſo dearly earned with the ſword, into the hands of the king of Poland, received that province from him as a fief in reward of his conduct, and as his ſhare of the ſpoil.

The king of Pruſſia was well aware that theſe objections, as well as many others, might be made to the nature and juſtice of his claims; he accordingly, in the letters patent, took the trouble to obviate one of the former, by ſhrewdly obſerving, that the dukes of Stettin had never made any renunciation of their rights to Pomerellia; a fact which muſt be as readily admitted, as that they never claimed or pretended any ſuch rights. As to all others, he referred the public, as well as the parties concerned, to a work, which he ſaid was then in the preſs, (but which has not yet been publiſhed) in which he had given to all Europe inconteſtible proofs of his rights, confirmed by authentic records, and the ſtrongeſt arguments drawn from hiſtory and law.

We ſhall enter into no particular diſcuſſion of the claims of this prince, upon that part of Great Poland which lies between the Draga and the Nottée, which he pretends to have been originally a part of the New March of Brandenburgh; the rights here ſeem to be founded upon ſimilar principles, and liable to many of the objections which we have already mentioned. From this ſtate, however, of proofs and deductions, his pruſſian majeſty

majesty concludes "that the rights of Poland "to these provinces, having been thus in its "origin unjust and vicious, cannot, according to "the unanimous opinion of all civilized nations, "be corrected or amended by a long prescription; "but rather that the rights of the house of Bran- "denburgh, not only to those provinces, but also "to the other great and important claims, set "forth in the manifesto, remain in full force and "integrity."

Having thus established the clearness of his titles, and the equity of his claims, this prince declares, that as neither his inclinations lead, nor any law compels him, to suffer any longer such great and various acts of injustice, he will make use of the means in his hands, not only to recover the provinces thus torn by Poland from his duchy of Pomerania and the New March of Brandenburgh, but that he will also indemnify himself for the fruits and revenues of those extensive provinces during this long detention of them.

To this end he therefore seizes all that part of Great Poland situated on this side of the Nottée, and also all the territories of Prussia and Pomerania on this and on the other side of the Vistula, which the kings of Poland have hitherto possessed under the name of Polish Prussia; excepting only Dantzic and Thorn. As the king is fully persuaded that the republic of Poland, having well weighed his demands, as well as the *circumstances* attending

attending them, will yield to his rights, finiſh all differences between them by amicable treaties, and be ready and diſpoſed to make equitable conventions therein; he therefore exhorts and commands the people to ſubmit themſelves voluntarily to his dominion, to acknowledge him for their lawful king and maſter, demean themſelves as faithful and obedient ſubjects, and abſtain from all communication with the kingdom of Poland. As a farther and immediate pledge of their ſubmiſſion, they are commanded to do homage, and to take the oaths of allegiance and fidelity, in ſuch manner as ſhall be ſpecified to them, at ſo ſhort a date as the 27th of September, though the letters patent were only ſigned on the 13th of the ſame month.

Upon a ſtrict and immediate compliance with theſe conditions, the inhabitants of thoſe provinces are promiſed to be maintained in their poſſeſſions and rights, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil, and eſpecially thoſe of the church of Rome, in the free exerciſe of their religion; and that in general they ſhall be ſo governed, that every ſenſible inhabitant ſhall find reaſon to be content and happy, and have no cauſe to regret this change. But if, on the contrary, any perſon ſhould preſume to diſobey thoſe orders, either by any act or neglect, or ſhould in anywiſe render himſelf guilty, or even *ſuſpected* of infidelity and diſobedience, ſuch delinquents are threatened, without exception of perſons,

perſons, with all thoſe puniſhments, which are uſual in ſuch caſes.

No ſecurity, either of perſon or property, is granted by the letters patent, to thoſe who from principles of honour or conſcience, or a diſlike to foreign laws and a military government, would ſooner abandon their country than be guilty of a violation of the one, or ſubmit to a compliance with the other; as little regard is ſhewn to the rights of thoſe who are abſent in other countries, and who, from the ſhortneſs of the time, cannot poſſibly comply with the terms preſcribed. The ſame diſregard to the eſtabliſhed rights of mankind are ſhewn in the Auſtrian ſpecifications, by which no alternative is allowed to thoſe who do not chuſe to accept of the terms propoſed, nor are they even informed, whether they are to be governed by their own laws, or by any other, the will of the count de Pergen being the only code that was then communicated to them. The empreſs of Ruſſia, indeed, allowed three months to thoſe who ſhould not be willing to ſubmit to her government, to diſpoſe of their effects, with liberty then to depart where they pleaſe, which, though much too ſhort a time to anſwer any effectual purpoſe, carried with it, however, ſome appearance of equity and humanity, of which the other two powers ſeemed totally regardleſs. Theſe, however, are matters that could only affect the landholders or the opulent traders, the bulk of the people

people being considered as annexed to the soil, which they must till, and raise recruits for the armies: as for the others, in the present righteous system of disposing of the rights of nations and of the property of mankind, confiscations might, probably, form no inconsiderable part of the great objects in view.

Whilst the three great powers were thus making a spoil of Poland, the unhappy king of that country was a sort of an honourable prisoner in his capital: surrounded with foreign troops, it was not yet time he should quit it; and he must not only wait to be a spectator of the dissolution of his country, but was also doomed to light the funeral pile with his own hand. Such is the power of habit, that those who have lost all regard to the essence of justice, are still scrupulous admirers of its forms. Thus the powers in question, not satisfied with the title to their new acquisitions, which they derived from force in the first instance, apply to the same force, for a better, in the second; and think to sanctify their violence, by obtaining some of the outward forms of a legal right: as if the violence that makes a man deliver his right was less justifiable than that which obliges him to sign a writing to his own destruction.

1773. The indignant Poles cried out against the injustice. They claimed the intervention of the potentates guarantees of the treaty of Oliva; a treaty

a treaty that had assured to them the integrity of their territory, and which had long been regarded as the grand charter of the north. Some of these potentates made remonstrances, no less unavailing than the complaints of the Poles. Not content with having already seized on a part of the provinces of Poland, the three imperial and royal spoliators insisted that a diet should solemnly make to them the cession of these provinces.

Under the influence, therefore, of this tender regard to the forms of equity, the miseries of an undone king and of a ruined people were to be aggravated by an unprofitable and unheard-of insult. A diet was to be summoned with the bayonet at its breasts. Some persons were forced, a few others procured, and the king himself obliged to attend this meeting. The business was but short. The justice, equity, magnanimity, and friendship of the partitioning powers were extolled in the highest degree; their undoubted right to every thing they chose to take acknowledged in the fullest terms; and every instrument they thought proper to present immediately executed.

Of all the extraordinary acts of the three partitioning powers, none seemed more so, or were perhaps more incomprehensible, than their conduct respecting the convocation of a diet. They urged in the manifesto, with the most pressing earnestness, the whole polish nation to lay aside their

their animoſities, in order that a diet might be legally aſſembled, one of the principal avowed objects of which was to ratify thoſe arrangements they had already decreed, and to acknowledge their right in the equivalents they had ſeized. Upon finding that the king and the ſenate did not enter into this meaſure with the alacrity which they wiſhed, they loſt all appearance of temper; and, forgetful of the reſpect due either to a king or a republic, renewed the demand in terms, and enforced it with menaces, equally unworthy of both.

The diet was immediately convoked and aſſembled*. Promiſes and money were laviſhed to gain over the deputies. Nevertheleſs the majority of the diet for a long time refuſed their conſent to the diſmemberment. Provoked at a reſiſtance which had not been expected, the miniſters of the three courts threatened the diet with the full animadverſion of their ſovereigns. They ſaid, that they would cauſe the king to be arreſted and depoſed; and it was privily circulated by their emiſſaries, that if the diet refuſed its compliance, Warſaw ſhould be delivered up to pillage. By repeated allurements and ſtratagems, the conſent of the diet was at length obtained. It iſſued at the ſame time a decree to confine to a ſmall num-

* The 19th of April 1773.

ber of days the time of their fittings*, and it appointed commiſſioners to ſettle with the miniſters of the three courts the conditions of the partition. It may eaſily be imagined that theſe conditions were dictated by the miniſters themſelves. They were ſigned in the month of September following.

Some nobles of the uſurped provinces had the courage to proteſt againſt the treaty, and to publiſh manifeſtos. But of what avail were theſe ſolitary exclamations againſt numerous armies?

Previous to the convocation of the diet, and during the whole of its continuance, the king had loudly declared againſt the partition. Notwithſtanding this, it was pretended that he ſecretly favoured it, and perſons who knew his former devotion to Ruſſia, could not perſuade themſelves that he would now give it up.

As ſoon as the acceſſion to the treaty of partition was voted, ſeveral of the principal members of the diet repaired to the king, and reproached him ſharply with the ruin of their country. The monarch at firſt anſwered them with gentleneſs. But, ſoon perceiving that his moderation only ſerved to embolden them and to provoke freſh inſults, he roſe up, threw his hat upon the floor, and ſaid to them haughtily, "Gentlemen, I am "weary of harkening to you. The partition of

* It broke up in the month of May.

"our

" our unhappy country is a conſequence of your " ambition, of your diſſenſions, and your eternal " diſputes. It is to yourſelves alone that you " ought to attribute your misfortunes. As for " me, if no more territory ſhould be left me than " could be covered by this hat, I ſhould neverthe- " leſs be ſtill, in the eyes of all Europe, your " lawful, but unhappy king."

By the diſmemberment of Poland, it loſt nearly five millions of inhabitants. The country that fell to Ruſſia, and which was the moſt extenſive, contained one million five hundred thouſand. That which Auſtria had, two million five hundred thouſand, on a territory far leſs extenſive. Pruſſia acquired only eight hundred and ſixty thouſand ſouls*; but ſhe was compenſated by the commerce and the vicinity of the Viſtula, and by the city of Dantzic,

* Ruſſia acquired three thouſand four hundred and forty ſquare leagues, Auſtria two thouſand ſeven hundred, and Pruſſia nine hundred. The country uſurped by Ruſſia had for its limits the river Vella, from its ſource to the place where it falls into the Niemen, and the river Bercezina, as far as Rjeſicka, where it empties itſelf into the Dniepr.—Auſtria took the whole of the left bank of the Viſtula, from the ſalt mines as far as the mouth of the Virotz, the palatinate of Beltch, Red-Ruſſia, and the greater part of Volhynia.—Frederic took poſſeſſion of Elbing and the whole of poliſh Pruſſia, excepting the cities of Dantzic and Thorne, which he afterwards ſeized on.

of which Frederic had already laid the plan of rendering himself master*.

The three courts who thus appropriated to themselves the spoils of Poland, were not unmindful at the same time of putting it in a state of impossibility ever to regain what they had now been usurping from it. However dangerous the form of its government might have been, they were determined to render it still more corrupt. They caused full powers to be granted to the commissioners of the diet, to employ themselves, in concert with them or their ministers, in making the changes required by the constitution of the republic; and, under the specious pretext of cor-

* Even so late as the year 1767, the empress of Russia concluded a treaty with the Dantzickers, by which she engaged them to join in the confederation of the dissidents, and in which, besides renewing and confirming the former guarantees, she engages in the strongest terms, for the maintaining of that city, in all its rights, liberties, privileges, customs, religious or civil; and especially in the possession of its territories and lands; also in its right of navigation, commerce, port, coinage, and garrison, without any diminution thereof; she also engages, that if a war should be the consequence of the present dissensions, and that it should sustain any injury, either as to its goods, revenues, or rights, thereby, it should not only receive full reparation for its losses at the conclusion of a peace; but that besides, all its rights and privileges shall be again most strongly guaranteed, not only by herself, but also by all the other high powers who were engaged with her in the cause of the dissidents. Such is the faith and security of treaties.

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recting its defects, they aggravated them so as to render them incurable.

After conferences prolonged by repeated delays, a new diet was assembled, in which the ministers of the three courts proposed their plan of reform. The diet was more tumultuous and more untractable than the preceding; and, in spite of the influence of the russian minister, who caused his secretary to read the new project of the constitution, this project was at first rejected*.

By

* It is too curious for us not to introduce here the bases of it, as well as the preamble of the captious memorial which the ministers of the three courts presented at the same time.

"The courts are so strongly interested in the pacification "of Poland, that while the business is in hand of preparing "the treaties for being signed and ratified, their ministers "think that not an instant should be lost of that inestimable "interval, for restoring order and tranquillity to that king-"dom. We shall now therefore communicate to the com-"mission, a part of those fundamental laws, to the accept-"ance whereof our courts will not permit any obstacle or "delay.

"1. The crown of Poland shall be elective *for ever*, and "all order of succession shall remain prohibited. Any per-"son who shall attempt to infringe this law shall be declared an "enemy of the country, and prosecuted as such."

"2. Foreigners who aspire to the throne, occasioning most "frequently divisions and troubles, shall henceforward be exclu-"ded, and a law shall be passed, that in future none but a Pole "by parentage, born a gentleman, shall be capable of being "elected king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania. The "son or grandson of a king shall not be eligible immediately after

By theſe laws the houſe of Saxony and other foreign princes, who might have preſerved the integrity of the remnant of Poland, were excluded from the throne, the liberum veto, with the other dangerous privileges of the nobility, confirmed, and all the diſorders perpetuated.

Stackelberg was ſtill ambaſſador from Catharine at Warſaw*. More pliant than Repnin, he was neither leſs haughty nor leſs addicted to in-

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" the death of his father, or of his grandfather; and he ſhall " not be ſo till after the interval of two reigns.

" 3. The government of Poland ſhall be, and ſhall continue " for ever a free and independent government, and of the re- " publican form.

" 4. The true principles of that government conſiſting in " an exact obſervance of the laws, and in the equilibrium of " the three orders, viz. the king, the ſenate, and the no- " bility, a permament council ſhall be eſtabliſhed to which " ſhall be attributed the executive power. Into this council " ſhall be admitted perſons of the rank of nobility, who have " been hitherto excluded from the adminiſtration of affairs, in " the interval of the diets," &c.

* It is well known that of all the Poles, the king was him for whom Stackelberg had the leaſt reſpect. Whenever he was in company with that prince, he uſed to place himſelf without ceremony before him, with his back to the fire, and holding up the ſkirts of his coat.—The king one day paid a viſit to Stackelberg. He was dealing the cards at a game of pharao, and without quitting his play, he ſat ſtill and ſhewed the king a chair, making a ſign to him to ſit down. Every perſon at Warſaw was plainly convinced that the ruſſian miniſter was the real king in that capital.

trigue.

trigue. By dexterity and corruption he gained over the majority of the deputies, and the diet approved of the new form of government. It ſeemed proper now that this pernicious plan of government, eſtabliſhed by Ruſſia, Auſtria, and Pruſſia, ſhould be maintained and upheld by thoſe powers: but they delayed not to take advantage of its defects to bring it to total deſtruction.

The pruſſian troops, from their firſt entrance into the dominions of Poland, without the pretence or colour of war, acted in every reſpect as if they had come to revenge unparalleled injuries in the country of the moſt odious enemy; and even exceeded what is practiſed upon thoſe occaſions between civilized nations. Their monarch ſeemed upon this occaſion to have exhauſted the whole of his fertile genius, in finding out new modes of rapine, oppreſſion, and tyranny. No forms were obſerved, no meaſures were kept, and even the ordinary appearances and trappings of juſtice were ſhameleſsly thrown by.

It has been computed, that at a moderate eſtimation he carried off, in the courſe of the year 1771, from the province of Great Poland and the adjoining diſtricts, twelve thouſand families, who were ſent, with their effects, to ſtock the barren ſands and bleak wilds of his hereditary dominions. In the ſame year he publiſhed an edict, commanding every perſon, under the ſevereſt penalties, and even corporal puniſhment,

to take in payment for forage, proviſions, corn, horſes, &c. the money which ſhould be offered by his troops and commiſſaries. This money was either ſilver bearing the impreſſion of Poland, and worth only one-third of its nominal value, or elſe ducats, ſtruck in imitation of the dutch ducats, (which from their intrinſic worth are current in every part of Germany and the north), that were ſeventeen per cent, below them in value. With this baſe money he bought up corn and forage enough, not only to ſupply his army for two whole years, but alſo to ſtock magazines in the country where the proviſions were bought which were afterwards converted into markets, where the inhabitants were obliged to come and re-purchaſe corn, at an advanced price, for their daily ſubſiſtence, and to pay for it with good money; his commiſſaries refuſing to take back the ſame coin, which they had before obliged the people to receive. It is ſaid, that the king gained, in this ſingle article of extortion and injuſtice, ſeven millions of dollars; which, though an amazing ſum, and that the calculation may be large; yet if we recollect, that by being maſter that year of the Viſtula, he became poſſeſſed of all the corn in Poland that was intended for the Dantzic market, beſides what his troops could lay hands on in Great Poland and Pruſſia, and remember at the ſame time the exceeding ſcarcity and great price of that commodity, both in Germany

Germany and all the neighbouring countries, we may perhaps find reaſon not to think the ſum much exaggerated.

Exceſſive contributions were at firſt extorted, which were afterwards doubled and trebled, both in Great Poland and Royal Pruſſia. Unheard-of gabelles were at length impoſed, and the proteſtant cities of Dantzic and Thorne*, ſurrounded with cuſtom houſes, at which exorbitant duties were levied upon all the neceſſaries of life, as they were carried into market. In a word, the exactions from the abbies, convents, cathedrals, and nobles, were ſo exorbitant, and at length grew ſo much beyond their abilities, that the canons of Gneſna ſhut up the church, and abandoned their cathedral; the prieſts fled from their cures, the monks from their monaſteries, and the nobles from their eſtates. Thoſe whom age or infirmities prevented from flying, were bound hand and foot, and carried off as criminals.

In the mean time, the young men were every

* The city of Thorne found as little ſecurity in the king of Pruſſia's declaration, as that of Dantzic. The ſame ſolemn mockery of reaſon and juſtice was however preſerved upon this occaſion, which had been diſplayed upon the other; and the delicacy was ſtill to be obſerved of not taking the city by force, at the ſame time that their territories and revenues were ſeized upon, cuſtom and exciſe officers erected at their gates, and heavy gabelles (which would have amounted to prohibitions, if they had been laid upon any thing but the neceſſaries of life) levied upon every article that entered them.

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where ſeized, and ſent off to fill up the pruſſian armies. When all the ingenuity of device, and all the reſources of oppreſſion, rapine, and tyranny, ſeemed at length to be exhauſted, a new one was diſcovered, which was before unheard-of in the hiſtory of mankind. Every town and village was obliged to furniſh a certain number of marriageable girls, to each of whom the parents were to give, as a portion, a feather-bed, four pillows, one cow, two hogs, and three ducats in gold; all of which were ſent to ſtock the king's dominions. One ſmall town in Poſnania, with its diſtrict, was obliged to furniſh general Belling with fifty marriageable girls and their portions; and the roads were covered with waggons, loaded with this new ſpecies of contribution. Thus were the children torn from the arms of their unhappy parents, and the wretched brides obliged to abandon their country, their religion, their language, their friends, and all the dear connections of life, to be tranſported to unknown countries, married to men they never ſaw, and to live in a ſtate of mutual hatred with people whom they could not underſtand. Theſe oppreſſions continued from the latter part of the year 1770, to the ſame time in the year 1772, when the partition of Poland was formally declared*.

Nothing

* It is the intereſt of all the potent ſtates that ſurround this large and once great country, never to ſuffer it to emerge out of

Nothing could now be added to the deſcriptions we have already given of the calamities of Poland, that would not appear a tireſome repetition. A great part of the country was finally reduced to a deſart, and the inhabitants either totally exterminated, or carried off to ſtock remote ruſſian plantations, from whence they can never return. The ruſſian ambaſſador was in reality the king of that unhappy country; and every commander of a party, whether ruſſian or confederate, an abſolute and moſt arbitrary deſpot, ſo far as the force in his hands was capable of extending his power.

Here let us pauſe to remark, that the period of which we are now treating, though it adds but little to the ſplendour of hiſtory, abounds with thoſe materials which form the moſt ſerious and important parts of it. It preſents us with a revolution, as unexpected as important, in that general ſyſtem of policy, and arrangement of power

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of its preſent wretched ſituation. The officious neighbours have too great a regard for its conſtitution, to admit the natural phyſicians to preſcribe any thing for its benefit. Its original misfortune was the pride and tyranny of the nobles, which prevented them for ſeveral ages, while it was in their power, from eſtabliſhing a happy form of government. If this had been done, they might have been one of the greateſt nations in Europe: they are now the moſt miſerable; and little leſs than a miracle can ever afford another opportunity of making trial of their virtue.

and dominion, which had been for ſome ages an object of unremitting attention with moſt of the ſtates of Europe. It ſhews us the ruin of one great and ancient ſtate, and an almoſt unparalleled revolution in the internal government of another*. While the ſtateſman may here behold the inefficacy of treaties, guarantees, and ſanctions, the philoſopher and citizen of the world will ſhed a tear on the utter ſubverſion of almoſt all the remaining monuments of public liberty; and tremble for the very few that yet continue.

The violent diſmemberment and partition of Poland, without the pretence of war, or even the colour of right, is to be conſidered as the firſt very great breach in the modern political ſyſtem of Europe. It is not (ſaid the politicians of the continent) ſapping by degrees the conſtitution of our great weſtern republic; it is laying the axe at once to the root, in ſuch a manner as threatens the total overthrow of the whole. Such is the condition of mankind, that we are ever in extremes; and when we have carried any one to its greateſt extent of evil or folly, we fly back with equal violence to its oppoſite. The ſurpriſe of a town, the invaſion of an inſignificant province, or the election of a prince, who had neither abilities to be feared, nor virtues to be loved, would ſome years ago have armed one half of Europe, and called forth all the attention of the other.

* Sweden, 1772.

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We now behold the deſtruction of a great kingdom, with the conſequent diſarrangement of power, dominion, and commerce, with as total an indifference and unconcern, as we could read an account of the exterminating one horde of Tartars by another, in the days of Tſchinghis-khan or Tamerlane.

The idea of conſidering Europe as a vaſt commonwealth; of the ſeveral parts being diſtinct and ſeparate, though politically and commercially united; of keeping them independent, though unequal in power; and of preventing any one, by any means, from becoming too powerful for the reſt, was great and liberal, and, though the reſult of barbariſm, was founded upon the moſt enlarged principles of the wiſeſt policy. It is owing to this ſyſtem, that this ſmall part of the weſtern world has acquired ſo aſtoniſhing (and otherwiſe unaccountable) a ſuperiority over the reſt of the globe. The fortune and glory of Greece proceeded from a ſimilar ſyſtem of policy, though formed upon a ſmaller ſcale. Both her fortune and glory expired along with the ſyſtem.

Some of the moſt deſert provinces in Aſia have been repeatedly the ſeats of arts, arms, commerce, and literature. Theſe potent and civilized nations have repeatedly periſhed, for want of any union or ſyſtem of policy of this nature. Some Scythian, or other barbarian, has been ſuffered, unnoticed, to ſubdue his neighbouring tribes; each new conqueſt

conqueſt was made an inſtrument to the ſucceeding; until at length become irreſiſtible, he ſwept whole empires with their arts and ſciences off the face of the earth. In the ſame manner a banditti, who were afterwards called Romans, were ſuffered to accumulate power, until they had ſubdued the braveſt and fierceſt nations, and became the maſters and deſtroyers of the beſt part of the world. Each ſtate looked on with indifference, or enjoyed a malignant pleaſure at the ruin of its neighbour, without reflecting that the weapons and power of which he was deprived would be quickly employed to its own deſtruction.

It will not be denied, that the idea of ſuppoſing a balance of power has in ſome caſes been carried to an extreme; that by artfully employing it to operate upon the paſſions and jealouſies of mankind, it has been made an engine ſubſervient to the deſigns of intereſted and ambitious perſons, and has perhaps thereby been productive of ſome unneceſſary wars. The ſame objections, with others, might be made to that glorious jealouſy, with reſpect to civil liberty, which has been the admiration and envy of all ages; which for the happineſs of mankind ſhould ſubſiſt in full vigour in every ſtate in the world, and to their misfortune and puniſhment is ſcarcely alive in a few. Even that, the nobleſt quality of the human mind, has been productive of wars and of other evils.

We are not to look for perfection in any thing that

that we are capable of underſtanding. All human regulations are intermixed with evil and error; and all that is in our power, is to adopt thoſe which are the cleareſt from both. The ſame principles that make it incumbent upon the patriotic member of a republic to watch with the ſtricteſt attention the motions and deſigns of his powerful fellow-citizens, ſhould equally operate upon the different ſtates, in ſuch a community as Europe, who are alſo the great members of a larger commonwealth. Wars, however it may be lamented, are inevitable in every ſtate of human nature; they may be deferred, but they cannot be wholly avoided; and to purchaſe preſent quiet at the price of future ſecurity, is undoubtedly a cowardice of the moſt degrading and baſeſt nature.

We find however, that it has been at all times the language of a voluptuous and frivolous age, that while a ſtate is flouriſhing within itſelf, and ſuffers no immediate injury from others, it has no concern in the quarrels, intereſts, or misfortunes of its neighbours. At ſuch a time, that ſelfiſhneſs which looks only to the preſent moment, becomes a faſhion, if not the ſtandard of policy; it is as painful then to look forward, as it is to thoſe who have weak nerves to look down a precipice; treaties, alliances, and a common cauſe, are exploded, as matters which do not concern the preſent day; and all enlarged ideas, of general juſtice, of a political equality, and of remote, though certain

certain conſequences, are ridiculed as the dreams of lunatics.

How far ſuch a deſcription may be at preſent applicable to a conſiderable part of Europe, we ſhall not pretend to determine; in particular, how far the inſular ſituation of Great Britain weakens the application of theſe general principles with regard to her, may be a queſtion. It may not, however, be altogether an hazardous opinion, that a ſingle man, caſt out from the laws, the protection, and the commerce of his whole ſpecies, might in that ſolitary ſituation, with as rational and well-grounded a probability, propoſe to himſelf convenience and ſecurity, as any ſingle ſtate, in the preſent political and phyſical ſtate of Europe, could expect independence and ſafety, unconnected with all the others.

It will be difficult for poſterity to know which moſt to admire, the great power of Ruſſia, or the magnificence of its empreſs, when they are informed, that in the courſe of ſo long, ſo expenſive, and ſo widely extended a war, her diſburſements, whether in rewards to her generals and officers, in preſents to learned men, in the encouragement of arts, or in the purchaſe of libraries, ſtatues, pictures, antiques, and jewels, infinitely exceed thoſe of any late or preſent european prince except Lewis XIV. Among many inſtances of this nature which might be given, a diamond of an enormous ſize which ſhe purchaſed this year may

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be ſufficient. This diamond, which weighs ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine carats, was brought ſome years before by a greek gentleman from Iſpahan to Holland, and depoſited for ſecurity in the bank, till he could meet with a purchaſer; the greatneſs of the price would have made this difficult, if the empreſs of Ruſſia had not exiſted. She paid upwards of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling for it, beſides ſettling a penſion for life upon the gentleman, amounting to little leſs than a thouſand pounds ſterling a-year.

While Catharine was acquiring by negotiations a part of the provinces of Poland, her armies continued to ravage the frontiers of Turkey. Fortune however was not always favourable to her. Fourteen thouſand Ruſſians, in attempting to paſs the Danube at Georgeſn, were ſurpriſed * by Dagheſtan-Ali paſha, and ſix hundred of them remained priſoners with the Turks. The young prince Repnin was of that number. He was conveyed to Conſtantinople, and ſhut up in the caſtle of ſeven towers, to which he was led in cavalcade, with the other priſoners who had been formerly taken, amounting in the whole to about three thouſand, through the ſtreets of that city; exhibiting by this means a kind of political triumph, calculated to flatter national vanity, and to keep up the ſpirits of the people. An Engliſhan,

* At Giurgevo.

named Elliot, in the ſervice of Ruſſia, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an extraordinary manner at Georgeſn. He ſprung, with no leſs agility than boldneſs, over the heads and the ſabres of the ſpahis, and fell into the river, which he croſſed by ſwimming.

Marſhal Romantzof croſſed the Danube, in order to march direct to Siliſtria. Fourſcore thouſand Turks were encamped on the adjacent heights. General Veiſſmann attacked them; they ſhut themſelves up in the town. Romantzof marched up to it the following day. The grand vizir had already detached from his army fifty thouſand men for the purpoſe of relieving Siliſtria. Romantzof effected his retreat during the night; but he was haraſſed by the Turks, who killed a great number of his people. Obliged to repaſs the Danube, that general went and encamped near Yablonitch in Valakhia.

The grand vizir occupied the left bank of the Danube. A detachment of his army defeated a conſiderable body of Ruſſians at Roſkana. Theſe ſeparate battles often turned out to the advantage of the Ottomans.

As the Danube was the boundary between the hoſtile armies, it became of courſe the ſcene of continued action; its wide-extended waters, its iſlands, and its banks, affording endleſs opportunities for that deſultory kind of war, which conſiſts of ſurpriſes by night and ambuſcades by day, of alternate

alternate flight and purſuit, and in which from the vicinity of the hoſtile troops, and the facility of embarkation and deſcent, neither reſt nor ſecurity is to be obtained on either ſide. A bloody, ruinous kind of war, which ſoon devours great armies; and in which lives are loſt without effect, and courage exerted without honour.

This deſtructive kind of war was not, however, a matter of choice with the Ruſſians; and the Turks were too ſkilfully commanded to forego the advantages which the nature of the country and the river afforded. To them, who were at home, and abounded with men, the loſs of lives, if attended with no other conſequence, was productive of no real weakneſs; while on the ſide of the Ruſſians every loſs was irreparable, or, at beſt, could ſcarcely be ſupplied ſooner than the end of the campaign. In ſuch circumſtances, it would be wrong to judge from events: nor were the ruſſian generals blamable for uſing their utmoſt efforts to bring matters to an immediate criſis on the other ſide of the Danube, as it was the only means by which they could change the nature of the war, and preſerve their beſt troops from mouldering away in ineffectual ſervice. On the other hand it muſt be acknowledged, that the grand vizir, by not foregoing any of the advantages, and by making the beſt uſe of the means that were in his power, by preſerving the grand army whole, and by wiſely abſtaining from a general engage-

ment, though frequently urged to it, at the ſame time, that by repeatedly pouring detachments upon them, he kept the Ruſſians in hot and continued action, undoubtedly performed in this campaign the part of a great captain.

Diſcontented, however, at perceiving that her armies had not lately been gaining new victories, Catharine ſent diſpatches to marſhal Romantzof, deſiring to be informed why he did not give battle. The general returned for anſwer, that it was becauſe the grand vizir had three times more people than he, and might eaſily find his advantage in ſuch an event.—Catharine wrote immediately in reply, "The Romans never aſked after the num-" ber of their enemies, but where they were, in " order to fight them."

Some trifling engagements which happened between the hoſtile powers on the Euxine, anſwered no other purpoſe than to ſhew, that from the badneſs of their veſſels, and the wretchedneſs of their ſailors, the one was nearly as ill framed to acquire, as the other was to preſerve, the dominion of that boiſterous gulf.

The ruſſian operations in the Levant were not this year attended with any great eclat, or productive of any conſiderable advantages. Their force, however, at the beginning of the campaign, ſeemed, by the accounts of it that were publiſhed, to have been pretty conſiderable; and it is ſaid to have conſiſted of ſeventeen ſhips of the line, of which

which three were unfit for ſervice, thirteen ſtout frigates from twenty-two to forty-four guns, three engliſh veſſels (which they had purchaſed) of twenty guns each, and a number of ſmall raguſan and dulcignot veſſels, which, with galliots, chebeques, and chebequins, amounted in the whole to about fifty. The complement of men which the ruſſian ſhips brought from the Baltic was about fourteen thouſand: but of theſe many had died, and numbers were unfit for ſervice: the ſmaller veſſels of different kinds were manned by three thouſand five hundred Greeks and Albanians. Theſe, who were fit for nothing but a piratical war, committed many robberies on the ſhips of all nations, and had long been the ſcourge and ruin of the grecian iſlands.

The iſle of Paros, antiently famous for its wine and its marble, but rendered immortal by its ſtatuaries, had long been the principal ſtation of the Ruſſians. Though the ſituation of this iſland, it lying about midway between the Morea and the Leſſer Aſia, might ſeem in ſome reſpects to render it an eligible ſtation, it ſeems in many others to be greatly defective: among theſe, its diſtance from either coaſt, particularly from that of the Leſſer Aſia, might be conſidered as a principal objection; and its ſmallneſs and barrenneſs made it an uncomfortable place of refreſhment and recovery for ſuch great numbers. It indeed ſeems ſurpriſing, that after the extraordinary fortune by which they deſtroyed the turkiſh fleet, and thereby became

the uncontrolled ſovereigns of thoſe ſeas, the Ruſſians ſhould not, in ſo many years, have been able to poſſeſs themſelves of any one conſiderable iſland, which by its products might have been a ſupport in their enterpriſes, and by its ſtrength a ſecurity in caſe of misfortune.

A ſtrict connexion and alliance had long ſubſiſted between the Ruſſians in the Mediterranean, Ali-bey, and the ſheik Daher; and the latter were frequently aſſiſted in their attempts upon the turkiſh ports on the coaſts of Syria and Paleſtine, by the ruſſian ſhips, who occaſionally landed troops and artillery for that purpoſe. They alſo ſupplied them with ſome officers, engineers, and a few hundreds of Greeks and Albanians, to manage their artillery. Previous to Ali-bey's departure for the invaſion of Egypt, he ſent, in the beginning of the year, one of his principal officers and boſom friends, to the iſle of Paros, to renew and ſtrengthen the alliance with count Orlof, and to negotiate the aſſiſtance he ſhould require in the progreſs of his enterpriſe, as well as to diſcover the extent of the friendſhip and protection he might expect in caſe of misfortune. This envoy having met with as kind a reception as he could wiſh, carried back a letter from count Orlof, in which he promiſed Ali-bey every aſſiſtance in his power, and pledged himſelf, in the moſt ſacred manner, that he ſhould never be abandoned, and that in the worſt extremity he ſhould find an aſylum in the ruſſian empire,

pire, where he ſhould be as highly reſpected as he had been in Egypt. The defeat and death of this bold and unfortunate adventurer, put an end to the hopes of advantage which the Ruſſians would have had a right to entertain, if he had ſucceeded in recovering the poſſeſſion of that country.

The Ruſſians, in the month of April, or the beginning of May, made an unſucceſsful deſcent upon the iſland of Negropont, in which they ſuffered great loſs, the Turks having totally cut off all the men that were landed. They ſoon afterwards quitted the iſland of Paros entirely, the ſick, with part of the fleet, being ſent to Leghorn, where they fixed an hoſpital, and the ſhips were refitted; the reſt were employed in cruizes or expeditions. They likewiſe made ſeveral deſcents upon the iſlands of Cyprus, Candia, and others, which were attended with no other advantage than the obtaining plunder; they were not, however, at all times ſucceſsful in theſe attempts, and four ſacks full of ruſſian heads were ſent from Stanchio to Conſtantinople, as a proof of the reception which they met with in that iſland.

Catharine had for ſome time been meditating a marriage for the grand duke: but as that prince ſeemed to be of a weak habit, and a cold conſtitution, ſhe feared leſt he might be little diſpoſed to give heirs to the empire. Her confidants ſoon found the means for diſpelling her fears. They engaged a young poliſh widow, named Sophia

Oſſipovna Uſhakova Chartorynſka*, to make an attempt with her charms on the heart of the prince. Mademoiſelle Sophia conſented; and ſhe bore him a ſon, who received at the font the name of Simeon Velikoï†.

From that time the empreſs bent her thoughts on the choice of a fit conſort for the grand duke. In this, however, ſhe found herſelf ſomewhat embarraſſed. She wiſhed not for a princeſs who might probably become her rival, and who, profiting by her example, was capable of forming attempts on her throne and her life. She was rather in ſearch of one who had neither the faculties nor the deſire of rendering herſelf formidable. The empreſs at length fixed her views on the three daughters of the landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt. Catharine invited the three ſiſters, with their mother, to accompany them to her court. How contrary ſoever to long-eſtabliſhed cuſtom this propoſal might appear, the landgrave of Heſſe-Darmſtadt accepted it with-

* The widow Chartorynſka was afterwards married to count Gregory Razumofsky, who was with her at Paris in 1788, and retired to Lauſanne at the beginning of the French revolution.

† Simeon Velikoï was of a gentle and modeſt diſpoſition, and great care had been taken with his education. Entered at an early period in the navy, he ſerved during the ſwediſh war under that deſerving engliſh officer, captain Trevenen, in the capacity of lieutenant of a man of war, then being one of the twelve officers ſent by the empreſs to learn the art of navigation in England: he acted as a volunteer in the engliſh navy, and died in the Weſt-Indies in 1797.

out hesitation. That princess was ambitious; and therefore she listened only to the hope of placing one of her daughters on the throne of Russia: she set out for Petersburg. The empress received her with magnificence, and loaded her with presents*. After having had time to form a judgment of the three young princesses, Catharine chose for the spouse of the grand duke the princess Wilhelmina, who embraced the Greek orthodox system of faith†, and was joined in wedlock to the heir of the tzars‡.

Prince

* She even insisted that the landgrave should permit her to defray the whole expence of her journey thither.

† The ceremony of the future grand duchess's profession of the greek faith was performed August 26, in the chapel of the winter palace. After abjuring her former religion, and making a short speech to the metropolitan archbishop of St. Petersburg, she was anointed by him according to the rites of the orthodox greek church, and baptized into that faith by the name of Natalia Alexievna, and the next morning was betrothed to the grand duke in the chapel of the summer palace. This ceremony consisted in the exchanging of rings: these, having first had the benediction pronounced on them by his eminence the archbishop of St. Petersburg, were delivered to the grand duke and the princess, and by them to the empress; who, taking the grand duke's, presented it to the princess, giving the princess's to the grand duke in exchange: which done, they both kissed the empress's hand. After mass was over, (which was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, on account of its being the festival of the holy handkerchief, a great day in this church,) the foreign ministers had the honour of kissing her imperial majesty's hand, and making their compliments to her: soon after which, her majesty, attended by the whole court, proceeded to the great saloon, where she dined

upon

Prince Orlof and his party were in hopes that this marriage would be preſently followed by the diſgrace of Panin. Orders were ſent him to leave the apartments which he occupied in the palace in quality of governor of Paul Petrovitch. His friends took the alarm. The courtiers became

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upon the throne with the grand duke and ducheſs, and was ſerved on this occaſion by the great officers of the houſehold. The four firſt claſſes of the nobility dining at different tables in the ſame room, and the foreign miniſters with the vice-chancellor at his houſe. In the evening there was a ball at court, and the gardens of the ſummer palace were finely illuminated, as was the whole town, and the ſhips in the river. It is ſcarcely poſſible to exceed the ſplendor and magnificence which appeared on this occaſion.

‡ The 10th of October being the day appointed for the celebration of the marriage of his imperial highneſs the grand duke with the eldeſt princeſs of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, the four firſt claſſes of the nobility aſſembled in the Kaſanſkoy church at Peterſburg, the ſtreets of that city being lined with guards and ſome regiments of foot. About noon, upon a ſignal being given, the proceſſion ſet out from the winter palace, and proceeded to the church, in the centre of which was a throne richly decorated for the empreſs, and on the right hand a gallery for their imperial highneſſes, with their princely attendants; and on the left, another for the foreign miniſters. The body of the church was filled with the four firſt claſſes of nobility. His eminence Gabriel archbiſhop of Novgorod and St. Peterſburg performed the marriage ceremony, and afterwards preached a ſermon ſuitable to the occaſion. The concluſion of the whole was proclaimed by a running fire of the muſquetry; and the proceſſion returned in the ſame order in which it came. The feſtivities on this occaſion were continued from the 10th to the 21ſt, with only three days' intermiſſion.

ſhy of him. He imagined himſelf undone: but his pupil had the generoſity to oppoſe himſelf to the ſtorm; and haſtening to his mother, repreſented to her, that Panin had been always a faithful ſervant of the empire, and that it would be too cruel an act to diſmiſs him from the court, at the very moment when he had the greateſt right to expect ſubſtantial rewards. This procedure wrought a change in the mind of the empreſs. Inſtead of retaining her reſolution of ſending an order to Panin to retire from the court, ſhe wrote to him a letter full of teſtimonies of affection; and, thanking him for the care he had beſtowed on the education of the grand duke, ſhe confirmed him in his poſt of miniſter of foreign affairs.

It was a few days prior to the grand duke's marriage, and on the anniverſary of her coronation, that the empreſs conferred upon count Panin, who had been his governor, ſeveral honours and emoluments. She beſtowed upon that nobleman, in perpetuity, an eſtate valued at near ſeven thouſand pounds a-year, and a penſion for life to the ſame amount, beſides an appointment of about half that ſum for conducting the department of foreign affairs, together with the choice of any houſe in Peterſburg, to be purchaſed for his reſidence, and an allowance of money for plate and furniture, of about thirty-five thouſand pounds. She alſo ſhewed a proportionable munificence

nificence to all the officers of the grand duke's late houſehold.

The famous count Biren, duke of Courland, died at a great age on the laſt day but one of the preceding year, and was ſucceeded by his ſon. As the reigning duke was known to be in no degree of favour at the court of Peterſburg, his poſſeſſion of that duchy was held to be very precarious; while it was generally thought, that it would have been thrown in as an equivalent on one ſide or other in the partition of Poland, and probably might, by ſome marriage arrangement, be formed with ſome of the adjoining provinces into an independent ſtate. It is probable, that whatever difficulties prevented the execution, more than one deſign of this nature was in contemplation; and the duke himſelf was ſo ſenſible of the dangerous ground he ſtood on, that he attempted to bring about a match with one of the remaining princeſſes of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, in hopes thereby to ſtrengthen his intereſt. This deſign was cruſhed as ſoon as it was known, by the empreſs, who is ſaid to have ſent him word, that he had no occaſion to think yet of matrimony. In this hopeleſs ſituation he was ſummoned to Peterſburg, and his ruin was thought to be decided; but a change ſoon appeared in the conduct and deſigns of the court; from whatever cauſe it proceeded he ſuddenly became a favourite

favourite at court, and the empreſs concluded a marriage for him with the ruſſian princeſs Yuſupoff.

Thoſe who were unacquainted with the motives by which the empreſs had been ſwayed in determining to retain count Panin, found an inexplicable contradiction in her conduct. Orlof had the preſumption to reproach her with it: but ſhe did not vouchſafe to inform him better. Unwilling that this favourite ſhould know that a mother had yielded to the ſollicitations of her ſon, ſhe told him that it behoved him to ſacrifice the ſatisfaction of removing a miniſter who failed of pleaſing, to the neceſſity there was for his ſervice. Always ingenious in diſguiſing her ſentiments, Catharine made no ſcruple of deceiving the favourite, who fancied he engroſſed the whole of her confidence. Though ſhe ſeemed to have reſtored him her former tenderneſs, yet ſhe ſecretly cheriſhed in her heart a paſſion which ſpeedily broke out. She felt ſome inclination to diſmiſs Orlof a ſecond time: but ſhe prudently kept terms with him ſtill.

Of the learned and literary men with whom Catharine kept up a regular correſpondence, Voltaire and Diderot were thoſe whom ſhe moſt diſtinguiſhed. She invited them ſeveral times to come and viſit her. The philoſopher of Ferney had learned by experience the dangers of courts: he would not ſubmit to the temptation of ſeeing

that

that of Ruſſia. The philoſopher of Paris was more open to perſuaſion. He travelled to St. Peterſburg. Catharine laviſhed on him largeſſes and encomiums. During the whole time of his ſtay at her court, ſhe diſcourſed with him every day at the concluſion of dinner. Philoſophy, legiſlation, politics, were commonly the ſubject of theſe converſations. Diderot unfolded his principles on the liberty and the rights of nations with his uſual enthuſiaſm* and eloquence. The empreſs ſeemed to be delighted with them; but ſhe was not at all the more diſpoſed to put them in practice.

"Monſieur Diderot," ſaid ſhe, "is a hundred "years old in many reſpects; but in others he "is no more than ten."

Perhaps her majeſty's private opinion was not more in favour of the wiſdom of Voltaire; though ſhe never ſpoke of it but with all the deference that is due to the foremoſt diſpenſer of fame. The manner in which ſhe was wont to write to him is well known. We have already cited ſeveral fragments of her letters; we ſhall, nevertheleſs, tranſcribe one of them here, as a further proof of the artful diſguiſe ſhe put on before that celebrated author, and how ſhe ſtrove to obtain

* The empreſs made him ſit beſide her. In his moments of enthuſiaſm, Diderot has ſometimes hit her knee with the back of his hand: ſhe never ſeemed to take offence at it.

thoſe

thoſe flatteries which he ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon her.

" ..... *Now we are ſpeaking of haughti-
" neſs, I have a mind to make my general con-
" feſſion to you on that head. I have had great
" ſucceſſes during this war: that I am glad of it,
" you will very naturally conclude. I ſaid, Ruſſia
" will be well known by this war; it will be ſeen
" how indefatigable a nation it is; that ſhe poſ-
" ſeſſes men of eminent merit, and who have all
" the qualities that go to the forming of heroes;
" it will be ſeen that ſhe is deficient in no re-
" ſources; but that ſhe can defend herſelf, and
" proſecute a war with vigour, whenever ſhe is
" unjuſtly attacked.

" Brimful of theſe ideas, I have never once
" thought of Catharine, who, at the age of forty-
" two, can increaſe neither in body nor mind,
" but, in the natural order of things, ought to re-
" main, and will remain, as ſhe is. Do her affairs
" go on well? She ſays, ſo much the better!
" If they proſper leſs, ſhe would employ all her
" faculties to put them in the beſt train poſſible.

" This is my ambition, and I have none other;
" what I tell you is the truth. I will go farther:
" I will tell you that, for the ſparing of human
" blood, I ſincerely wiſh for peace. But this

* This letter is dated the 22d of July—the 2d of Auguſt 1771.

" peace

" peace is ſtill a long way off, though the Turks, " from different motives, are ardently deſirous of " it. Thoſe people know not how to go about it.

" I wiſh as much for the pacification of the " unreaſonable contentions of Poland. I have " to do there with brainleſs heads, each of which, " inſtead of contributing to the common peace, " on the contrary throws impediments in the way " of it by caprice and levity. My ambaſſador " has publiſhed a declaration adapted to open " their eyes. But it is to be preſumed, that " they will rather expoſe themſelves to the laſt ex- " tremity, than adopt without delay a wiſe and " conſiſtent rule of conduct. The vortices of " Deſcartes never exiſted any where but in Po- " land. There every head is a vortex, turning " continually round itſelf. It is ſtopped by chance " alone, and never by reaſon or judgment.

" I have not yet received either your queſ- " tions*, or your watches from Ferney. I have " no doubt that the work of your artificers is per- " fect, ſince they work under your eyes.

" Do not ſcold your ruſtics for having ſent me " a ſurplus of watches: the expence of them will " not ruin me. It would be very unfortunate for " me, if I were ſo far reduced as not to have, for " ſudden emergencies, ſuch ſmall ſums whenever

* The " Queſtions ſur l'Encyclopedie."

" I want

" I want them. Judge not, I beſeech you, of " our finances by thoſe of the other ruined po- " tentates of Europe. Though we have been " engaged in a war for three years, we proceed in " our buildings; and every thing elſe goes on as " in a time of profound peace. It is two years " ſince any new impoſt has been levied*. The " war at preſent has its fixed eſtabliſhment; that " once regulated, it never diſturbs the courſe of " other affairs. If we capture another Kefa or " two, the war is paid for.

" I ſhall be ſatisfied with myſelf whenever I " meet with your approbation, Monſieur. I like- " wiſe a few weeks ago read over again my in- " ſtructions for the code, becauſe I then thought " peace to be nearer at hand than it is, and I " found that I was right in compoſing them. I " confeſs that this code, for which a great quan- " tity of materials are preparing, and many others " are now ready, will yet give me a conſiderable " deal of trouble before it is brought to that de- " gree of perfection at which I wiſh to ſee it. " But no matter: it muſt be completed, though " Taganrok has the ſea to the ſouth and moun- " tains to the north.

* With all due deference for her imperial majeſty, this does not exactly tally with the augmentation of the capitation-tax of eighty kopeeks, which ſhe was obliged to aboliſh at the peace; any more than with the extraordinary taxes laid on ſeveral manufactures, and on all works in iron.

" However, your deſigns upon that place cannot be brought to effect till a peace ſhall have ſecured its environs againſt all apprehenſion on the ſide of the land and the ſide of the ſea; for till the Krimea was taken, it was the frontier place againſt the Tartars. Perhaps in a little time the khan of the Krimea will be brought to me in perſon. I learn this moment that he did not croſs the ſea with the Turks, but that he remained in the mountains with a very ſmall number of followers, nearly as was the caſe with the pretender in Scotland after the defeat at Culloden. If he comes to me, we will ſtrive to poliſh him this winter; and, to take my revenge of him, I will make him dance, and he ſhall go to the french comedy . . . . . .

" Juſt as I was about to fold up this letter, I received yours of the 10th of July, in which you inform me of the adventure that happened to my 'Inſtruction*' in France. I knew that anecdote, and even the appendix to it, in conſequence of the order of the duc de Choiſeul. I own that I laughed on reading it in the news-papers, and I found that I was amply revenged.

" The conflagration that happened at Peterſburg has, according to the report of the police, conſumed in all an hundred and forty houſes, among which about twenty were brick buildings;

* Her majeſty's inſtruction for a code of laws.

" the reſt were only barracks conſtructed of wood. " The high wind wafted the flames and the burn- " ing ſplinters on all ſides, which occaſioned the " fire to break out again the following day, and " gave it a ſupernatural appearance. But there is " no doubt that the high wind and the exceſſive " heat were the ſole cauſes of this diſaſter, which " will be ſoon repaired.

" With us buildings are raiſed with greater ce- " lerity than in any other country in Europe. In " 1762 a fire happened of twice the extent, which " conſumed a large quarter of the town, conſiſting " of wooden buildings. The whole was rebuilt " in brick within leſs than three years."

The ſucceſſes of the turkiſh war raiſed in the hearts of the nation an enthuſiaſtic love and veneration for their ſovereign; the ſentiments of joy at the humiliation of the oriental pride were univerſal; and it muſt be confeſſed that many truly heroic atchievements in theſe campaigns, both by ſea and land, might well excite the ruſſian patriots to jubilation. To perpetuate the memory of them, Catharine cauſed medals to be ſtruck, and columns to be erected*.

1774.

* On the 7th of September a magnificent repreſentation of the taking of the fortreſs of Giurgevo was exhibited before the empreſs and the whole court. The ſiege was conducted in the regular forms by the train of artillery, under the direction of the grand maſter prince Orlof, aſſiſted by the préobaginſky regiment of guards. After a cannonade and bombardment of near two

1774. Soon after the close of the year, the grand signior Mustapha III. emperor of the Turks, departed this life at Constantinople*, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the seventeenth of a reign, which had in its latter part been the most unfortunate of any in the turkish annals from the time of Bajazet. His son, sultan Selim, being then only entered into his thirteenth year, seemed too young to sustain the reins of government in the present critical situation of affairs. The emperor accordingly, with a wisdom and disinterestedness which does honour to his memory, appointed his brother Abdulhamet to succeed him in the throne. To this prince, under the strongest terms of recommendation, he confided the care of his infant son: a trust rendered sacred by all

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hours, during which time the regular approaches were made, the outworks of the fortress silenced, and a breach effected by the battering cannon, the soldiers were seen to mount to the assault, and the place surrendered. In the course of the siege several mines were sprung, the magazines of powder in the place took fire, and no incident was omitted which could contribute to give the spectators a perfect idea of the manner in which such an attack is carried on. Afterwards a magnificent firework was played off on a stage built on the river for that purpose, which concluded the entertainment of the day, at the whole of which the empress was pleased to express great satisfaction. On the day following her imperial majesty, attended by the court, went to assist at a solemn mass at the church of the fortress of Petersburg, and to offer up her prayers for the souls of those killed in battle, according to annual custom in time of war.

* The 21st of January.

the

the ties of gratitude; but precarious from the barbarous maxims of the ottoman family.

It is a juſtice due to humanity to reſcue the character of the late emperor from the oblivion or contempt which too generally attend misfortune. If he was not poſſeſſed of thoſe great, dazzling, and fatal qualities which excite the admiration of mankind, and in which, to their misfortune, too many of his anceſtors were ſuperiorly eminent, he was bleſſed in a great degree with thoſe happier ones, of humanity, juſtice, and benevolence. Numberleſs inſtances of theſe occurred during his reign, which would not have been omitted in an eulogium on the moſt exalted characters. His moderation and clemency with regard to his chriſtian ſubjects, notwithſtanding their avowed diſaffection, and the aſſiſtance they gave to a conquering enemy, when the very exiſtence of the empire was in queſtion, cannot be eaſily paralleled in the hiſtories of the moſt refined civilization, and under the influence of the pureſt religion. His laſt act with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, ſhewed a patriotiſm which will be more admired than imitated, and a greatneſs of mind equal to the moſt renowned of his predeceſſors.

The new prince having taken the neceſſary meaſures for the preſervation of public order and tranquillity, which, in that empire, is always a matter of moment and difficulty upon ſuch occaſions, ſeemed to turn his attention with great diligence to the

carrying on of the war. Numerous levies were accordingly made; and an order being paſſed that all perſons who were guilty of tumults or diſorders ſhould be ſent to ſerve on board the fleet in the Euxine, the terror of that puniſhment operated ſo ſtrongly on the profligate, as to produce a ſurpriſing effect in preſerving the peace of the metropolis. The emperor alſo iſſued a reſcript ſigned by himſelf, commanding the officers, governors of provinces, and military tenants, to act with the utmoſt diligence in their reſpective departments for the carrying on of the war, and thoſe whoſe immediate duty it was, to join the army forthwith, at the head of choſen bodies of the beſt troops they could procure, and to act with the utmoſt zeal and valour for the ſervice of the ſtate and religion, and the recovery of thoſe provinces which had been wreſted from the empire.

Diſturbances broke out at Adrianople, and other places where the army lay, through the mutiny of ſome of the janizaries, who were diſſatisfied with the acceſſion of Abdulhamet, and wanted to place the young prince Selim upon the throne. Though theſe commotions were eaſily quelled, it does not ſeem impoſſible, that the diſcontent which appeared upon this occaſion might have ſome ſhare in the ſubſequent ill conduct of the army.

Several actions which took place on the Danube early in the ſpring, ſeemed to indicate a vigorous campaign. Detachments from the contending armies

mies frequently croſſed that river, and theſe expeditions, though productive of no eſſential benefit, were attended with conſiderable loſs on both ſides.

The porte, however, was not inattentive to the advantages which might be derived from Pugatſhef's rebellion, and was accordingly indefatigable in exciting the various nations of Tartars, who ſurround or are intermixed with the ruſſian empire, to increaſe the internal diſturbances. It is not difficult to perſuade people who ſeem to have been born for nothing but war, to take up arms. The Tartars, however, are not now in the condition which at different periods enabled them to conquer a great part of the world. That overgrown empire, which has ſprung up among them has, by degrees, either ſwallowed up, broken, or ſeparated their different nations, in ſuch a manner as to render an union of arms or councils, or any general and formidable alliance, impracticable. Their being alſo cut off from the modern improvements in war, arms, and diſcipline, is an inſuperable bar to their becoming again terrible.

They could, nevertheleſs, be troubleſome, and increaſe the confuſion already cauſed by Pugatſhef. The porte accordingly ſent Doulet Gheray, the late khan of thr Krimea, with a conſiderable ſum of money, and attended by ſeveral officers of his kindred and friends among the nogais and kuban Tartars, where he was ſoon joined by above ten thouſand men. This body was attacked and routed by a

ruſſian detachment, before any effective junction of theſe nations could take place. As the Tartars ſtill dream of their ancient glory, and fancy themſelves before trial, to be as invincible now as they were in the days of Tamerlane, they were ſo much ſurprized and diſpirited by this defeat, that no farther ſervice could be expected from them, and the tartar prince found matters ſo hopeleſs, that having divided his money among his friends and adherents, he quitted the country. Similar meaſures were purſued, and attended with ſimilar ſucceſs, among the Baſhkirs, Kirghiſes, and ſome other tribes, all of whom were ready for inſurrection or war; but were unequal to the purpoſe.

A conſiderable armament was alſo prepared at Conſtantinople, for the ſupport of the Tartars, and their confederates the kozaks, and other inſurgents in the Krimea. In the mean time, ſuch diligence was uſed in reinforcing the grand army, that it became more numerous than it had been ſince the commencement of the war, and the grand vizir was ſaid not to have leſs than four hundred thouſand combatants under his command on the Danube.

Nor was the court of Peterſburg leſs diligent in exertions for enabling marſhal Romantzof to open the campaign with vigour. Though the rebeliion of Pugatſhef ſeemed a conſiderable impediment, yet Ruſſia was now freed from ſome other material embarraſſments. The heavy clouds which hung on the

the ſide of Sweden were now diſperſed, and it was no longer neceſſary to keep an army on that frontier; while the Auſtrians and Pruſſians ſo effectually occupied Poland, and overawed the inhabitants, that the Ruſſians were freed from all apprehenſions in that country. Marſhal Romantzof's army was accordingly rendered very formidable.

He reſolved once more to croſs the Danube, and attack the Turks. The latter diſputed his paſſage with ſignal valour: but their efforts were ineffectual. General Soltikof* was the firſt who reached the oppoſite ſhore. Suvarof and Kamenſkoï followed cloſe at his heels. The Turks were repulſed. Romantzof was ſoon after encamped at the gates of Siliſtria.

Not many days after this, the Turks attacked Soltikof. They were twenty-five thouſand ſtrong, and fought a long time with the greateſt intrepidity: but they were at length obliged to ſubmit to the ſuperior ſkill and bravery of the Ruſſians.

The ſame day generals Kamenſkoï and Suvarof gained an advantage over the reis effendi, who was at the head of forty thouſand Turks, and took away with them his artillery.

All theſe diſaſters were greatly diſtreſſing to the Ottomans; as a ſpirit of inſubordination and revolt is uſually, with them, the conſequence of a defeat. The troops of the army of the grand vizir were

* Since become field-marſhal.

either

either engaged in bloody conteſts among themſelves, or deſerting by whole detachments. That general was encamped at Shumala, where he was at a great diſtance from the other bodies of the turkiſh army. Romantzof, who remarked the diſadvantage of that poſition, ſo opportunely ſurrounded the camp of the vizir, that he cut off his communication not only with the detached corps, but alſo with his magazines. The vizir, unable therefore to receive any ſuccours, or to retire, or to ſtand a battle, determined to ſue for peace.

The plenipotentiaries met accordingly at Kutſhuk-Kainardſhi in Bulgaria. The Ruſſians perſiſted in the demands they had made at the laſt congreſs. The Turks agreed to them; and the preliminaries of the treaty were ſigned* by marſhal Romantzof and the kiaya of the grand vizir†. By this treaty Ruſſia obtained the free navigation of the Euxine, and in all the ottoman ſeas, together with the paſſage of the Dardanelles; on condition, however, that ſhe ſhould never have more than one armed veſſel in the ſeas of Conſtantinople. Retaining Azof, Taganrok, Kertſch, and Kinburn, ſhe reſtored the reſt of her conqueſts. The independence of the Krimea‡ was one of the principal clauſes

* About the month of July.

† In order to avoid appearing again in the preſence of his conqueror, the haughty Muſſum-Oglou feigned a ſickneſs.

‡ The peninſula of the Krimea, or Krim, antiently called the Taurica Cherſoneſus is ſurrounded on all ſides by the Euxine and the

clauſes of the treaty, and that which was moſt ſeverely felt by the Turks. Certainly they were very far from perceiving

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the Palus Mæotis, except where it is joined to the continent of the leſſer Tartary by a narrow iſthmus, ſomething leſs than five engliſh miles in breadth. This iſthmus has received its name from the antient city of Perekop, which is built at its entrance on the ſide of the peninſula, and has been celebrated for the ſtrong lines made for its defence by the Turks, which extend quite acroſs from the Euxine to the Palus Mæotis, and were the labour of five thouſand men for a courſe of ſeveral years. The Tartars conſidered theſe lines as inexpugnable, until the famous count Munich convinced them of their error in the year 1736, when he forced them without much difficulty. This muſt however in a great meaſure be attributed to the badneſs of the defence, as the ditch was ſeventy-two feet broad, and forty-two deep; the height from the bottom of the ditch to the creſt of the parapetwas ſeventy feet, and the parapet of a proportional thickneſs. The lines were alſo, at that time, beſides the fortifications of the city, ſtrengthened with ſix towers mounted with cannon, and the whole was defended by an army. The peninſula lies between 33 and 37 degrees of eaſtern longitude, and between 44 and 46 degrees of nothern latitude; is naturally fertile, and was, at firſt under the government of the Greeks, and afterwards in the hands of the Genoeſe and other italian nations, a place of great trade, and filled with populous towns and cities. The Tartars of the Krim were a free people, governed by khans of their own election, acknowledging the grand ſultan as khalif: only in regard to religion, without any influence on the reſt of the government. Europe therefore ſaw in the liſt of her ſtates a new ſovereign prince, Sahim-Gueray, a mohammedan, and a deſcendant of the mongole conquerer Tſchinghis-khan. He reſided at Bachtſheſeray. Ruſſia would now no longer be neceſſitated to defend its borders, by the

perceiving the policy of Catharine in its full extent; but they seemed to foresee that she was only desirous of obtaining the independence of the Krim, as thereby she might be the better enabled to bring it into subjection. Besides these concessions, Catharine obtained from the porte that tract of land lying on the Euxine between the Bogue and the Dniepr, a large sum of money to defray the expences of the war, and the title of padishah, or empress, to be no longer refused to the russian monarch.

Catharine had thus the twofold advantage of increasing her power and of weakening her enemy. The commerce of the Euxine and the mart of the Levant opened to her a source of immense riches. The protection which she granted the Tartars, furnished her with the means of dividing them, and of conquering their country. The acquisition of the polish Ukraine put her in a capacity of more easily carrying on a war in the regions of the Danube, of overawing the ottoman empire, and of completing the ruin of Poland. The establishment of discipline among the kozaks added to her

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the usual expensive lines, against these Tartars, or even to continue the old tribute-like presents. On the contrary, she was now become a friendly and protecting neighbour, (just as she was towards Poland,) and in order the more effectually to do this, she altered the form of government, dissolved the relationship between the Krim and porte, and granted the Tartars the freedom of election, with several other privileges to the detriment of their khans.

armies

armies an excellent cavalry. The good understanding which she kept up in the islands of the Archipelago, and in Valakhia and Moldavia, became a never-ceasing source of disquiet and annoyance to the Turks. In a word, the empress beheld her influence and her glory extending throughout Europe.

Nothing could exceed the joy and festivity which prevailed at Petersburg upon the confirmation of this happy peace. The empress ordered that eight days should be devoted to public feasts and rejoicing; rewards were distributed as usual, in the magnificent spirit of that court; and that even the wretched might partake of the public joy, the doors of the prisons were set open to all who were not charged with high treason. Even those miserable outcasts of mankind, who languished unknown and unpitied in the frozen wilds of Siberia, were thought of in this season of benevolence; and an order was issued, that all those who since the year 1746 had been condemned to that natural prison (which, like the other world, admits of no escape) should be released.

But while the empress was in the enjoyment of a condition so prosperous without, deep and cruel wounds were consuming the interior of her empire. Her finances were in a dilapidated state. She received no succours from England, but by granting immense advantages to their commerce. The pestilence had made dreadful ravages at Mosco and in

adjacent countries. That horrible diſeaſe had long been devouring the ruſſian armies; and the fleet of the Archipelago was not exempted from its fury. The provinces of Kazan, Aſtrakhan, and Orenburg, were a prey to revolt, which even threatened Moſco; and a remarkable emigration* changed countries that were flouriſhing with commerce into waſte and deſerted tracts. All theſe calamities at once explain to us likewiſe how it happened, that during the war againſt the Turks, the ruſſian forces did not every year diſplay equal activity, and were not attended with equal ſucceſs.

But this emigration is of conſequence ſufficient to detain us a while. The aſiatic territory of this enormous empire preſents far other ſcenes than thoſe which the inhabitants of Europe are accuſtomed to ſurvey; and as Ruſſia in a manner connects both quarters of the world in the completeſt contraſt, ſo we behold it one while as a political exemplar of civilized human nature, but at other times involved in ſituations which appear quite ſtrange to us, and ſuch as we only know from the hiſtory of the fourth and fifth centuries. Thus, in the year 1771, an emigration took place, by which a very conſiderable number of ſubjects were loſt to the empire.—Of the Kalmuks or

* This emigration took place towards the cloſe of 1770 and the beginning of 1771. Yet the mention of it was deferred, in order that it might not interrupt the account of the progreſs of the war.

Œlœts,

Œlœts*, brethren of like race with the Mongoles, ſeveral branches are in ſubjection to the ruſſian empire. Their original abode, if we may uſe ſuch an expreſſion in ſpeaking of nomadic hordes is the Kalmuckia: lying weſtward toward the proper Mongolia, and in the north and eaſt of the leſſer Bukharia. At the latter end of laſt century, two tribes of them, the Torgot and Derbet, drew up in the ſteppe on the Volga above Aſtrakhan. Till very modern times, they remained however only as protected neighbours, and were tolerably independent on the government. But in 1757 the vice-khan Dondudidaſchi, contrary to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of all the khans of receiving their appointment from the dalailama in Tibet, thought fit, though they are of the lama religion, to apply to Ruſſia for the nomination of his ſon as his ſucceſſor. At Peterſburg the requeſt was granted with great ſatisfaction, which perhaps would not have been the caſe on an application to Tibet: the father was conſtituted actual khan; and the ſon, only thirteen years old, without hefitaton declared ſucceſſor, with an allowance of five hundred rubles *per ann.* and inſtalled with the uſual ſolemnities. On the death of the father in 1761, Ruſſia thought ſhe had a right to meddle in the affairs of the young ſovereign; inſtead of the accuſtomed council of eight ſaiſſans, it was made to conſiſt of a larger

* Improperly, Eleuts.

number,

number, whom the court eaſily retained by paying each of the members a ſalary of one hundred rubles. The friendly protection was thus (as has happened in various other caſes) changed into an actual ſovereignty. In conſequence of freſh regulations, the khan loſt his former unlimited authority, and became nothing more than the preſident of his council; nor had he any longer the right to diſmiſs this council; he could only complain to the imperial college of Ruſſia; and he was taught to eſteem it advantage enough that the ſovereign tribunal ſtood open to his appeal. In all other reſpects theſe Kalmuks retained their religion and their manners; they roamed about the ſteppe, had an averſion to permanent dwellings, and lived on the produce of their flocks and herds. Theſe conſiſted in ſheep, camels, and principally in horſes; the whole nation was armed and mounted; and their favourite drink, like that of all theſe tartar tribes, was a ſpirituous extract of mare's milk, called in their language kumiſs*. The paſture of theſe horſes requires this roving life; as a father of

* The ordinary drink, thus called, is prepared in the following manner: taking a given quantity of mare's milk of one day, they added to it a ſixth part of water, an eighth part of the ſoureſt cow's milk that can be procured, but at any time afterwards a ſmaller portion of old kumiſh will better anſwer the purpoſe of acidulating; they then cover the veſſel with a thick cloth, and ſet it in a place moderately warm; here they leave it to reſt for four-and-twenty hours, at the end of which period the

of a family may poſſeſs from one hundred to one thouſand, and ſome of them even four thouſand heads. Many of them were in good circumſtances, and very reſpectable people; kind, generous, and hoſpitable: this laſt quality they poſſeſs in an eminent degree, and ſhew it to every one who peaceably enters their tents. But they are quite the reverſe to ſuch as attack them as foes, eſpecially to nations, whom they acknowledge not as brothers. Accordingly, Ruſſia employed them in hoſts in the pruſſian war; and Germany ſtill recollects with horror the aſiatic ſavages that were let looſe upon her without regard to morals and the rights of humanity. In the turkiſh war they likewiſe fought for Ruſſia in the diſtrict of the

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the milk will have got ſour, and a thick ſcum will be formed on the ſurface. They now beat it with a ſtick reſembling at the lower end a churnſtaff, till the forementioned ſcum be entirely blended with the ſubjacent fluid; which done, it is ſet to remain twenty-four hours in a tall veſſel ſhaped like a churn. The beating is now repeated till the liquor appears to be thoroughly homogeneous, and in this ſtate it is called kumiſs, the proper taſte whereof is an agreeable mixture of ſweet and acid. Whenever it is wanted for uſe it is firſt ſhaken. Being duly prepared in tight veſſels, and put in a cold place, it will keep three months and upwards without detriment to its quality.—It ſerves both for meat and drink; is an excellent ſtomachic, and a remedy for diſorders of the nervous ſyſtem, of the breaſt, &c. The Tartars alſo make a diſtillation of this fermented milk, by which proceſs they obtain a ſpirituous liquor, ſupplying to them the place of brandy.

Kuban. Such was the ſituation of them till the year 1770.

In the mean time great heart-burnings had long ſubſiſted among the moſt conſiderable of them on account of the innovations introduced by the Ruſſians. The circumſcription of their primitive liberty; the reducing their khan to a ſtate of dependence; the intermeddling of a foreign nation in their conſtitution and laws, which begot diſſenſions and obedience in the horde; the injuries (real or imaginary) which ſome princes had received from ruſſian officers: all this awakened an irreſiſtible hankering after their former condition; and as it was not to be hoped for where they were, no choice was left, but they muſt ſeek it in their ancient plains where their anceſtors knew of no Europeans. Juſt at this time the governor of Aſtrakhan appointed a lieutenant named Kiſchenſkoï, as inſpector of theſe peaceful Kalmuks. Kiſchenſkoï, a man of inſatiable rapacity, by inſenſible degrees got poſſeſſion of a great part of their cattle, and ſold them to his own benefit. His exactions ſoon procured him an immenſe fortune. But his avarice, far from diminiſhing, ſeemed rather to increaſe with the means of its gratification.

One of their princes*, a venerable old man, who had ſhed his blood in the ſervice of Ruſſia, in recompence for which the empreſs had given him

* His name was Ubaché.

her

her miniature portrait ſet round with brilliants, and which he wore ſuſpended to his neck, was one day applied to by Kiſchenſkoï for ſome preſents in addition to thoſe which he had already given him. The old man, irritated at his inſolence, could not refrain from breaking out into reproaches on his injuſtice and the vexations he employed to the ruin of the unhappy Kalmuks. Kiſchenſkoï, offended at the truth of theſe reproaches, had the temerity to ſtrike him on the face, and having at the ſame time ordered one of the ſaiſſâns, the miniſter of the khan who interpoſed in his behalf, to be ſeized by his ſoldiers, ordered him the puniſhment of the battogues *.

The Kalmuks had, if not patiently, at leaſt quietly, ſuffered the rapacity and peculations of the ruſſian officer; but they could not endure the inſult that had been put upon this venerable old man, who ſtood in great reſpect among them. The prieſts and the elders of the horde having held a conſultation, reſolved to abandon the territory of the ruſſian empire, and retire to the foot

* Battogues—a ſort of puniſhment uſed in Ruſſia for inferior offences. The ſufferer is laid on his face upon the ground, ſtripped to his waiſt, and the arms and legs extended. Two men, one of whom ſits on his neck, and the other on his legs, beat him alternately on the back with the battogues, which are rods of the thickneſs of the little finger. Perſons having any authority over others may inflict this puniſhment upon them without any form of trial or legal proceſs. Nobles and peaſants are equally liable to it, when it is ordered by ſuperiors.

of the mountains of Tibet, the country of their progenitors. The common people were eaſily perſuaded; eſpecially as they were told that the ruſſian regulations were introduced for no other purpoſe than to compel them to the three things which they moſt abhorred: chriſtianity, agriculture, and the raiſing recruits. A little prieſtcraft was alſo had recourſe to on this occaſion. The noyons or princes ſet up a lama, whom they raiſed in a moment to be the immortal high-prieſt or dalailama, in the following manner: It was propagated abroad, that a famous kalmuk prieſt, who had died three years before, had now appeared again alive, and had iſſued a proclamation to the people, that he was riſen from the dead at Tibet, in the reſidence of the great dalailama; of all which a written teſtimony was brought from the immortal pontiff; in which it was declared, that, as he was now become a being of a ſuperior order, he foreknew the fates and fortunes of the nation, and required them, in the name of their gods, to return, and again take poſſeſſion of their antient territory. This happened towards the cloſe of the year 1770, juſt when they thought it the proper moment for the grand rupture; otherwiſe they would have ſuffered the lama to have ſlept quietly in his grave for a longer or a ſhorter time.

It was an unpardonable neglect in the commanding officer in thoſe parts not to put a ſtop to the proceedings of the horde, ſo as to prevent the emigration, as their intention was publicly known in thoſe

thoſe parts. He even ſuffered himſelf to be duped by the Kalmuks, to whom, on their forging ſome pretext of apprehenſion from the Kirghiſes, their neighbours, he gave two pieces of cannon, with ammunition, and ſome engineers. Accordingly, in the autumn, they began their march: a prodigious troop, with wives, children, and ſervants, having their droves, horſes, flocks, goods, huts, and tents. The captain under the command of the khan was forced to migrate with them at the head of his kozaks. The march was conducted regularly enough, in three troops, who conſtantly kept in ſight; the flanks of each were particularly covered, and beſides this they had a van and a rear guard. At the beginning they plundered the fiſheries and the trading houſes on the borders of the Volga and the Caſpian: but, on their progreſs into the ſouthern Siberia, they came upon the kozaks of the Yaïk, who ſtopped and purſued the flying horde, cut thouſands of them to pieces, and forced thouſands to return. In the ſpring 1771, they were attacked by the Kirghiſes, their inveterate enemies, and, after a bloody engagement, took many of them priſoners. In the ſummer they proceeded through the ancient Mongolia to the chineſe borders; where an army of the Mandſhu * received them, and afforded them protection.

The ſecret of their flight was ſo well kept, that

* The preſent emperor of China.

it was not known to the Ruſſians till two days after their departure. Three regiments were ſent in purſuit of them to no purpoſe. The Kalmuks were more in haſte than they; and, beſides, they were two days before them. Theſe regiments wandered a long time in the deſerts, and a conſiderable part of the ſoldiers periſhed.

When the news of the emigration was brought to St. Peterſburg, a corps of troops was ordered by the court to go in queſt of them. But, if the former purſuits were too late, it was not likely that theſe ſhould come up with them: the lamentable particulars of this expedition are related in captain Rytſchkof's journal; where it may be ſeen what difficulties and hardſhips theſe indefatigable purſuers of the fugitive horde encountered, in their devious marches on this unavailing expedition, and what variety of diſtreſſes they ſuffered in the dreary, inhoſpitable regions and waterleſs deſerts through which they paſſed. At length nothing farther was to be done but to make application by a written memorial to China, to demand the reſtitution of the runaways. But the ſupreme tribunal of Pekin anſwered the reſcript of the ruſſian ſenate abruptly, in a ſcornful and deriſory manner, and concluded by ſaying, that "their ſovereign was "not a prince ſo unjuſt as to deliver up his ſub-"jects to foreigners, nor ſo cruel a father as to "drive away children who returned to the boſom "of their family. That he had no intimation of "the

" the deſign of the Kalmuks till the moment of " their arrival; and that then without delay he " cauſed to be reſtored to them the habitations " that had belonged to them from time immemo- " rial. That, in ſhort, the empreſs had no reaſon " to complain of the Kalmuks, but certainly of " the officer who had dared to lift his hand againſt " a ſervant of the khans, and to order their mini- " ſters to undergo the battogues." The letter was thus ſubſcribed: " In the 36th year, the 7th " month, and the 13th day of the reign of Kien- " Long." On various occaſions Catharine frequently received from theſe her neighbours anſwers in a ſtyle which muſt have ſtruck her the more ſenſibly, as ſhe was accuſtomed to hear from all the other monarchs in the world a very different language. On her applying for a freſh treaty for the renewal of the commerce with China by the caravans, which for ſeveral years had been interrupted, on account of ſome differences that had ariſen between the ſubjects of the two potentates, the anſwer given to her envoy was:—" Let " your miſtreſs learn to keep old treaties, and " then it will be time enough to apply for new " ones." Accordingly we ſee, from her private communications*, how ſenſible ſhe was upon this ſubject; and ſhe could ſcarcely endure to hear any praiſe, even jeſtingly, beſtowed on the emperor

* For example, in her correſpondence with Voltaire.

of China, who was otherwiſe known as an author and poet.

Concerning the number of perſons loſt to Ruſſia by this emigration, accounts do not agree. Some ſtate it at a hundred and thirty thouſand families; which is certainly exaggerated. More accurate ſtatements ſay, that the horde in general conſiſted of not much above ſeventy thouſand tents, or hearths, or families. Thoſe who voluntarily returned, (for doubtleſs many of them, on the fatiguing and painful expedition over the deſerts, panted after the more quiet abode on the Volga, and turned back) and thoſe who were brought in by the kozaks, are reckoned together at twelve thouſand three hundred and forty-two tents. Thoſe that eſcaped therefore, eſtimating them at the higheſt, were ſixty thouſand hearths. But how great the number of the individuals that died upon the road, and of thoſe who were carried into captivity by the Kirghiſes, can never be known.

A council of war was held to examine into the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Kiſchenſkoï, and to pronounce upon it. But the buſineſs was conducted with negligence and every poſſible delay. Kiſchenſkoï employed a part of the fruit of his rapine in procuring himſelf friends at court, or in corrupting his judges: and to the great ſcandal of the majority of the Ruſſians, this man, who had occaſioned the loſs of ſuch a number of ſubjects

to

to the country, was recompenſed by the title of colonel.

Amidſt the grand concerns by which it was occupied, the court of Peterſburg betrayed no neglect of its little intrigues. Attentive as ſhe was to the buſineſs of government, Catharine had not bidden adieu to pleaſures. She went frequently from the council to the ball-room and the theatre, and from the important ſittings of the ſenate to the moſt frivolous amuſements. She gave audience to the ambaſſadors of foreign powers, without having need of any other dreſs than that ſhe wore for receiving her courtiers; and ſhe dictated a law with the ſame facility as ſhe wrote a billet. Eaſy in her new attachments, ſhe never ſpoke of thoſe that had gone before. Panin, Chernichef, and Baratinſky, applauded their own operations.

But what gave them the moſt ſatisfaction was the removal of prince Orlof. For nearly five months he had been travelling in foreign parts; and his enemies pleaſed themſelves with the thought that he was to continue his travels for at leaſt two years. The emiſſaries who watched his ſteps wrote them frequent accounts of his proceedings. He was thought to be in Holland: it was imagined that he intended to make the tour of England*, France, and Italy. All at once he re-appeared at the court of Peterſburg. The empreſs refuſed to

* It was ſome years afterwards that he came to England.

admit

admit him into her preſence. She ſent orders to him to repair to Reval. But ſhe at the ſame time ſent him conſiderable preſents, and loaded with honours and careſſes the more intimate friends of her diſcarded favourite.

What then could be the motive to ſuch a ſingular conduct? Catharine had no longer any regard for Orlof. She no longer ſtood in awe of him. But ſhe dreaded, ſhe hated a faction which ſhe conceived might be forming under the auſpices of a name * dear to the empire, and formidable to Orlof. She was deſirous of oppoſing the party of her former favourite to this faction, and of procuring the ſupport of a man by whom ſhe had already been ſo well defended. Triumphant over her enemies, the admiration of Europe, idolized by her courtiers, that princeſs was nevertheleſs often a prey to the moſt pungent diſquietudes: but ſhe concealed them. She dreaded the thought of being hurled from the throne; yet ſhe was projecting a farther aggrandizement of her large dominions. She was trembling for her life: yet ſhe diſcourſed with gaiety of the long career ſhe had probably ſtill to run. One day ſhe found a paper in her cabinet, in which mention was made of a threatened aſſaſſination: never did ſhe ſhew herſelf more confident and more ſedate.

Ambitious of all kinds of glory, ſhe could at all

* That of the grand duke.

times

times put any conſtraint on herſelf to obtain it. Whatever were her ſentiments, ſhe had always the appearance of gentleneſs, ſincerity, clemency, and generoſity. The blood of the wretched Ivan was yet reeking from the ground: Catharine was moved at the unhappy lot of his family; and knowing that ſhe had no longer any thing to fear from the duke, ſhe offered him his liberty, with the means of retiring to Germany. The prince refuſed. "Why ſhould I go," anſwered he, "out "of the ruſſian empire, to publiſh the exceſs of "my miſeries, and to excite an unavailing com- "paſſion*?"

Vaſſiltſchikof had now a long time filled the place of favourite. Never abuſing his influence either for accumulating immenſe riches to himſelf, or for hurting his rivals, he excited no envy. The empreſs would frequently praiſe his moderation; and that quality, ſo uncommon in a courtier, ſeemed to render him more dear to her from day to day. But on a ſudden he had loſt the art of pleaſing; and at the very inſtant when he had juſt been receiving additional tokens of her tenderneſs, an order was brought him to repair to Moſco. He obeyed. Freſh preſents from the ſovereign at-

* The account of the farther circumſtances that attended this family will be found in the preceding volume, where the part of the hiſtory concerning them was ſomewhat anticipated, for the ſake of keeping the individuals of the family together in one view.

tended

tended him on the road. But it was only a remuneration of form: the heart had no ſhare in it*.

Whether it was that Orlof had been ſecretly recalled from Reval, or whether he found his ſtay in that city inſupportable, he now came back, and made his appearance at court. The empreſs threw no cenſures on his behaviour. She received him, on the contrary, with an appearance of joy. Proud of this reception, and of the remembrance of his paſt favour, depending ſtill on the ſubmiſſion of his creatures, who were in great numbers, he thought himſelf able to reſume his honours and his influence. Theſe, while he was in the full enjoyment of, he often ſeemed to diſdain; but no ſooner was he deprived of them than he felt them to be neceſſary to him. Orlof, born in obſcurity, and brought up in the licentiouſneſs of the barracks, had found himſelf raiſed on a ſudden to a point of elevation, which, by ſwelling his natural pride, had neither altered his taſte, nor poliſhed his manners. Eleven years paſſed about the perſon of the empreſs, in the refinements of luxury and voluptuouſneſs, withheld him not from braving the inclemency of the ſeaſons, nor from expoſing himſelf to the ſevereſt fatigues, nor from the purſuit of the coarſeſt indulgences. Since his diſmiſſal from the poſt of favourite, he remained in poſſeſ-

* Vaſſiltſchikof continued in favour twenty two months. It will hereafter be mentioned to what the preſents amounted which Catharine made to him as well as to her other favourites.

ſion

ſion of an annual revenue of two hundred and fifty thouſand rubles, and of valuables to the amount of three hundred thouſand; inſtead of maintaining a houſehold with grandeur and magnificence, he led the life of an officer in garriſon. In a condition to keep a table delicately ſerved and ſupplied, he ate almoſt always with the commenſals of the court, who kept very ordinary cheer. He was not more choice in his amours. It was indifferent to him, whether he breathed out his flame to an ugly and ſqualid Finn, to a ſavage Kalmuk, or to the handſomeſt woman of Peterſburg.

Jealous of the authority enjoyed by his rivals, and contemplating with envy the throne on which he had long flattered himſelf with the expectation of ſitting, Orlof demanded to be re-eſtabliſhed in the exerciſe of his functions, and that he whom he accuſed of being the prime mover of his diſgrace, count Panin, ſhould be ſent into exile. Orlof ſeemed at that moment to have regained his aſcendant over the heart of Catharine. She appeared in his ſight with all the fondneſs that the tendereſt paſſion could inſpire, and made not the leaſt heſitation in reſtoring him to all his employments. Her majeſty, however, refuſed to conſent to the baniſhment of Panin; and the prince was obliged to be ſatisfied with obtaining her promiſe to remove him from court, as ſoon as the grand duke ſhould be married.

Panin was deeply chagrined at ſeeing Orlof reinſtated

inſtated in his employments. But he had no one to blame for it but himſelf, ſince he had taken no meaſures to prevent it. Happy in the fortune and the conſequence which he enjoyed, living in indolence in the midſt of affairs, and ſeeking a retreat in the tumult of the court, it was only in ſudden fits of reſentment that he took any pains to injure his rivals; and, though of greater ability than they, he had often the mortification to ſee them victorious.

"Count Panin is a good creature," ſaid a courtier who had long ſtudied his character. "He is "fond of nothing but eaſe and ſullenneſs. Any "one may be his friend by pretending to laugh at "his bons mots, and by furniſhing him with an op- "portunity for exerciſing his talent for ſlander. "He himſelf, on ſuch occaſions, will laugh with "all his heart; and he forgets the affairs of go- "vernment, the diſpatches, the couriers, and the "intrigues that are formed againſt him."

In the mean time the buildings and embelliſhments of St. Peterſburg proceeded without interruption; and works of really imperial magnificence were brought to effect, which render that city in many reſpects ſuperior to any other. The Neva, the Fontanka, and the Katarina-canal*, were em-

* The beautiful ſtream that forms the Neva, branches off into the little Neva, the Nefka, the river Moika, the river Fontanka, into all which fall ſeveral canals, all together forming the large and little iſlands (oſtrofs) on which Peterſburg is built.

banked with granite; and provided with ſpacious quays of the ſame material, and elegant balluſtrades of iron, ſo as to form agreeable walks through the ſeveral quarters of the town. Sumptuous bridges richly ornamented, of hewn granite, were likewiſe conſtructed in various parts acroſs the Moika, the Fontanka, and the ſeveral canals that unite their ſtreams. Palaces and public offices were erected; among them a palace of prodigious magnitude, built entirely of marble of divers colours from Siberia*. If the eye of the ſtranger, dazzled with ſo much brilliance and ſplendour as this reſidence affords, ſees with concern and almoſt with diſguſt, the intervals of wretched huts and dirty lanes; yet the inhabitant, recollecting with real ſatisfaction the former condition of moſt of the quarters and ſtreets, feels the more ſenſibly the almoſt magical improvements, and looks forward with complacency at what the whole muſt gradually become. Of the immenſe Ladoga-canal, the banks that were ſupported by timbers are, ſince 1763, walled with ſtone. The many beneficent and public-ſpirited inſtitutions of the empreſs required new buildings, which were conſtantly erected with magnificence and taſte. Nor were her cares confined to the

* The magnificence of this palace is ſuch, that it never fails to remind the beholder who ſees it for the firſt time, of what he has read in the "Arabian Nights" fairy and genii tales, and the like. The preſent emperor Paul aſſigned it for the reſidence of the late king of Poland, by whom it was inhabited till his death.

reſidence

residence alone, other cities were likewise growing in riches and splendour under her forming hand; Mosco, Tver, Tula, Kief, &c. In the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg arose and grew up in 1767, and is since in a flourishing state, the german colony Saratofka.

In the midst of the turkish war, Catharine purchased in Holland pictures to the amount of sixty thousand rubles*; in France for fifteen thousand rubles, and in Italy a multitude of inimitable curiosities.—That noble act of bounty which she shewed to Diderot in 1775, gained her the esteem of all literary men, in buying his library at a price far above its value, and then appointed him her librarian of it for his life, with a large annual stipend.

The expenditure on her court-establishment at this time was reckoned at four million of rubles annually; the numerous and always imperial presents to her officers, statesmen, and favourites, not included. Her court, the most brilliant in all Europe, was the resort of male and female beauty; young persons of talents, greyheaded commanders, able politicians, respectable matrons, and a multitude of high nobility, who, by their friendliness, affability, hospitality, and polished manners, rendered their society extremely agreeable.—Prince Gregory Orlof was no niggard of his wealth. He caused to be built, at a distance of eight or ten

* The ship which had them on board was wrecked on the coast of Finland, and the whole collection was lost.

miles

miles from Tzarſko-ſelo, the magnificent palace of Gatſhina; which the empreſs, on his death, purchaſed at a very high price, and made it a preſent to her ſon the grand duke; who, as is well known, always reſided there, and was fond of the place*. About 1774, when Orlof was out of favour, ſome people imagined it was for having preferred his private intereſt to the good of the ſtate: it certainly was not the caſe in that inſtance; but it is no leſs true, that ſhe made it a conſtant rule to employ no miniſter of that deſcription. She knew how and when to reward without being ſummoned to it; and never would ſuffer herſelf to be governed by perſonal regards. Even in Orlof's golden days when he was in the higheſt favour, his influence in ſtate affairs was far from deciſive: Panin oppoſed him; and held his place in defiance of him. Other favourites were of ſtill leſs ſignificance. If afterwards Potemkin, for a continuance of thirty years, could do every thing with Catharine, and at laſt raiſed himſelf to an all-directing ſtateſman; yet it cannot be denied that he had the head, and the courage and energy, which, with the gradual unfolding of his talents as he advanced, fitted him for a prime miniſter: though withal, his ambition and

* In 1780 the grand duke built a palace for himſelf at the diſtance of five verſts from Tzarſko-ſelo, which he named Pavlofsk, and furniſhed it with greater taſte than magnificence. However he ſtill retained his liking for Gatſhina, and has made it his ſummer reſidence ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne.

love of command were of the rudeſt and moſt dangerous nature.—The princeſs Daſhkof was not of Orlof's party, but belonged rather to Panin's; and after a long abſence in a kind of ſolitude ſhe appeared again at court in 1773, received from the empreſs a preſent of ſixty thouſand rubles, with ſubſequent marks of her favour and the poſt of director of the academy of ſciences. Count Panin filled unitedly the moſt important places with the empreſs and the tzarevitch *; and nothing can be ſaid more to his honour than that he gained the eſteem and affection of them both. The whole public alſo aſcribed to him perfect integrity in conjunction with a too great love of eaſe. He directed the foreign affairs, and his voice in the council was of very great weight. As preceptor of the grand duke he was beloved by that prince with a truly filial affection. Few princely families can ſhew an inſtance of greater tenderneſs of heart than one which we know of Paul Petrovitch: in count Panin's laſt illneſs the tears of the imperial youth inceſſantly flowed as he knelt by his bedſide, and gratefully kiſſed the hand of his dying maſter. After his death the ſincerity of the prince's grief was manifeſt to the few who then had acceſs to him.

An impartial obſerver, who ſaw the empreſs in

* Literally the tzar's ſon; the imperial ſucceſſor. Formerly this was the only ſtyle of the heir apparent. So lately as the time of Peter the great, his ſon was always called tzarevitch.

1772 and 1773, deſcribes her in the following manner: "She is of that ſtature which is neceſſarily requiſite to perfect elegance of form in a lady. She has fine large blue eyes; her eyebrows and hair are of a browniſh colour; her mouth is well-proportioned, the chin round, the noſe rather long; the forehead regular and open, her hands and arms round and white, her complection not entirely clear, and her ſhape rather plump than meagre; her neck and boſom high, and ſhe bears her head with peculiar grace and dignity. She lays on, as is univerſally the cuſtom with the fair ſex in Ruſſia, a pretty ſtrong rouge. She has adopted the uſual habit of the ruſſian ladies as the model of her dreſs, which by ſome ſlight alterations in it, ſhe has ſo improved, that it is not only very becoming, but may very properly be deemed an elegant mode of attire. She never puts on rich clothes except on ſolemn feſtivals; when her head and corſet are entirely ſet with brilliants: in grand proceſſions ſhe wears a crown of diamonds and precious ſtones. —Her gait is majeſtic: in the whole of her form and manner there is ſomething ſo dignified and noble, that if ſhe were to be ſeen, without ornament or any outward marks of diſtinction, among a great number of ladies of rank, ſhe would be immediately eſteemed the chief. There is withal in the features of her face and in her looks an uncommon degree of authority and command. In her character there is more of livelineſs than gravity.

She is courteous, gentle, beneficent; outwardly devout.

"Her ordinary method of life, in which she has almost always persevered, was, at that time, this: About six o'clock in the morning the empress usually rises. To which we may add, that frequently, even in the depth of winter, (nay, in the latter years of her life almost commonly,) she rose earlier. She uses, without calling any one, to prepare her own breakfast: as in general she is not fond of being much waited on, and accordingly dispenses with all attendance on her person as much as possible. The business of her toilet lasts not long; during which she signs commissions, orders, and papers of various purport. On days when the council does not meet in her apartments, she is busied alone in the cabinet from eight till eleven of the forenoon; she then usually goes to chapel, where the service continues till twelve. From this time till one, some of the ministers of the several departments have access to her. After the table is removed, to which she sits down at latest at about half after one, she goes to work again for an hour or two, according as business may require; she then walks, rides on horseback, or goes out in a coach or sledge; and at six her majesty appears at the play-house, where the performances are alternately in french and russian. If the empress takes her supper in public, (which happens extremely seldom,)

dom,) it never continues later than half after ten; at other times she retires at ten.

"The only court-day in the whole week, holidays excepted, is sunday. On this day in the morning, as the empress passes from chapel to her apartments, she gives the ambassadors and foreigners of rank who have been once presented, her hand to kiss; likewise such persons as have any petition to present, or desire to return thanks for bounties received, are presented on this day to the empress, and kiss her hand, dropping on one knee. The court begins not till six o'clock in the evening. At the same time a ball or concert is usually given: the empress never dances, but sits down immediately to cards, having previously told the chamberlain in waiting whom she will have of her party. In autumn 1772, it was commonly the austrian and prussian ministers, and of her own ministers count Razumofsky, prince Gallitzin, and the two counts Chernichef. The empress plays at piquet, or some other game at which she is not obliged to be constantly silent. A semicircle is formed round her card table, which the ladies begin on the left hand, and the privy-counsellors close on the right. When the empress has finished her game, she gets up and talks indiscriminately with the ladies, generals, and ministers that form the circle. At about ten o'clock, and often earlier, she breaks up her party, and then retires unobser-

ved through a side-door. What has been here mentioned relates only to the winter months, when the court is at St. Petersburg. While the empress is at Tzarsko-selo there is no court held except on extraordinary festivals.

"Of civil processes, criminal and consistorial causes, the empress allows nothing to be referred to her in the hours of the forenoon allotted to confer with the minister. Yet no person can be condemned to death without previous information delivered to her: when this punishment is almost always commuted or mitigated. But all matters relating to the army, the navy, the finances, to foreign affairs, the taxes, and public buildings, must be reported to her by the chiefs of the several departments.—Every one knows that the empress is made acquainted with whatever concerns the administration of government, and acts from herself in all state affairs.—As she never interferes in the private matters and family concerns of her household, she has always time enough for business of a public nature; especially as she regularly and uniformly apportions the hours of her day to the accurate interchange of writing, conversation, exercise, and company. In constitution she is healthy and robust; her mind is tranquil, cheerful, and always disposed to business."

In order to introduce the practice of inoculation into the remoter parts of her empire, Catharine instituted

inſtituted hoſpitals for that purpoſe in various places, even to the extremities of Aſia, where the practice is carried on with ſucceſs not only in cities and towns, but even among the nations of the ſteppes.

CHAP. IX.

Diſcontents in divers parts of the empire.—Cauſes that determine ſeveral impoſtors to aſſume the name of Peter III.—Rebellion of Pugatſhef.—His ſucceſſes.—His reverſe of fortune.—His execution.—Regulations of police, &c.

THE uniform proſperity of the empreſs ſeemed for a moment to have reached its term. A terrible ſtorm was gathering in the remoter provinces of the empire; the ſky of its horizon darkened; the black clouds came on; the thunder growled; the tempeſt threatened to overturn the throne of Catharine. Some parts of the conduct of that princeſs had excited great diſcontents in a conſiderable number of her ſubjects. Several of the ancient nobility took offence at the caprices and arrogant airs of her favourites; while the clergy burnt with the deſire of revenge for the loſs of their privileges, and the people murmured at the vexations without number to which they were expoſed. The boors, in ſhort, were almoſt become deſperate at ſeeing their children ſucceſſively raviſhed from

their families for furnishing recruits to the armies, which the sword of the Turks, and the horrible plague, were incessantly mowing down on the banks of the Danube. The kozaks of the Don gave the first signal of revolt. They had at their head a man, who, knowing their credulity, and seeing the spirit of discontent that was spread among them, quickly succeeded in causing several provinces to rise, and who, if he had been master of more art in taking advantage of his successes, would undoubtedly have given a different turn to the fate of Russia.

But it should first be explained what it was that determined this man to take upon him the bold part he played. The popes could not forgive Catharine for not restoring to them their possessions. They had recourse, therefore, to imposture, as one of the most sure and easy means of revenge; having learned, from the ecclesiastical history of all ages and nations, how seldom it fails of success. They privately spread abroad the report that Peter III. was not dead; and that he would soon make his appearance to reclaim his throne of the empress.

A false Peter III. had indeed presented himself in the province of Voronetch *; but he was taken, declared to be an impostor, and punished with death.

Some years after †, a deserter from the regiment of Orlof, named Chernichef, appeared in the village

* He was a shoemaker of Voronetch, and appeared in 1767.

† In 1770.

of

of Kopenka, on the frontiers of the Krimea, and alſo gave out that he was the emperor ſuppoſed to be dead. The popes procured him a great number of partiſans; and they were preparing to crown him in a church, when a colonel of the ruſſian troops, who had been informed that Chernichef was inciting the people to a revolt, came and ſeized on him, and inſtantly cauſed his head to be ſtruck off.

At the beginning of the naval war in the Archipelago, the Montenegrins made head againſt the Turks, refuſed to pay the uſual tribute, and drove the collectors out of their diſtrict. To this they were incited by a foreigner, moſt probably an Illyrian, named Stefano Piccolo, who in the ſeven-years war had ſerved among the auſtrian irregular troops, and afterwards could find no inclination to peace and tranquillity. Count Orlof, in 1769, took advantage of his ſituation in thoſe parts, and ſent to him prince Michael Dolgoruky; but he would not be perſuaded to agree to the propoſals of theſe commanders, felt himſelf rather uneaſy too under the ruſſian guard that had been ſet over him, and found means, by one artifice or another, to circulate the report that he was really the dethroned emperor Peter III. The enthuſiaſm inſpired by the ruſſian name among the Greeks of thoſe provinces, led them eaſily to believe that what he pretended was true. Some of their biſhops warmly encouraged the enthuſiaſm; and this ſtratagem

tagem occaſioned an inſurrection among the people. But it was not long before the janiſſaries obliged the Illyrians to take to flight; more fortunate than the other falſe Peter, he eſcaped the ſcaffold.

A fourth impoſtor appeared afterwards in the government of Uſa. By birth a vaſſal on an eſtate belonging to the family of Vorontzof, he fled among the kozaks, and followed a detachment which went, at the beginning of 1772, to join the ruſſian army. On coming up to one of the ſtations in the deſert between the Don and the Volga, he aſſembled his comrades, and aſſured them that he was Peter III. This ſtupid and barbarous crew believed him, acknowledged him as emperor, and ſwore to die in his defence. This done, he proceeded to appoint his miniſters, his generals, and prepared himſelf for wearing the crown with as much confidence as if he had been in poſſeſſion of a kingdom and a powerful army. But his reign was not long. At the end of a few hours a ruſſian officer came, and caught hold of his upſtart majeſty by the hair of his head, cauſed him to be bound by his own ſubjects, and ſent him to priſon at Tzaritzin. There the ſoldiers and the inhabitants, excited by the monks, made an attempt to ſet free the impoſtor. But colonel Zipletof, commandant of the fortreſs, a part of the garriſon having retained their fidelity, ſucceeded, by means of their fire-arms, in diſperſing the ſeditious. The impoſtor was immediately condemned

condemned to the knoot, and periſhed under the ſcourge of the hangman.

A priſoner at Irkutſk attempted, in 1772, to follow the example of the four delinquents of whom we have juſt been ſpeaking, and met with no better a fate. All theſe tragical farces were only the prelude to ſanguinary ſcenes preparing by a more formidable villain.

Catharine now was doomed to ſee the third and greateſt calamity that befel her during the whole of her reign; an open rebellion, and its attendant, a civil war. This calamity alſo took its riſe in Aſia, and proceeded quite to Moſco. The author of it was Ikhelman* Pugatſhef, the ſon of a kozak, and born at Simoveïſk, a village on the borders of the Don. He ſerved at firſt as a common ſoldier in the army which the empreſs Elizabeth ſent, in 1756, againſt the king of Pruſſia. He afterwards made the campaign of 1769 againſt the Turks, and fought under general Panin at the ſiege of Bender. On the ſurrender of that town he applied for his diſmiſſion; which was refuſed him. Upon this he fled to Poland. Here ſome hermits of the greek confeſſion, of whom he demanded the rights of hoſpitality, kept him concealed for ſome time.

With theſe hermits he frequently diſcourſed of his campaigns and his various adventures. One

* Some perſons call him Yemelka, and others, Yemelyan Pugatſhef; but he is named Ikhelman in the manifeſtos of the empreſs.

day

day he related to them, that while he was in the army of general Panin, a ruffian officer ſaid to him, after contemplating him for a long time, "If the "emperor Peter III. my maſter, were not dead, I "ſhould believe that I ſaw him once more in thee." The hermits ſeemed not to pay much attention to this matter; but ſome time after, one of their comrades, whom Pugatſchef had not yet ſeen, exclaimed all at once, "Is not that the emperor Peter "III?" The monks then made attempts to ſeduce him; and found no great trouble in ſucceeding. As ſoon as he was prepared for being employed as an inſtrument in their impoſture, he went to the town of Dubranka, where he ſtayed ſome days. Thence he proceeded to Little Ruſſia, and ſojourned among the ſectaries, who are very numerous in thoſe parts, and practiſe the greek religion as it was taught by the primitive church. The impoſtor, who pretended to the greateſt ſanctity, aſſumed the garb of a patriarch, and beſtowed his benedictions on the people with all the ſolemnity of a new apoſtle. He declared that he had no ſelfiſh or intereſted views, being entirely weaned from the vanities of the world; that his life had been long devoted wholly to piety; and that, as ſoon as he had placed his dear ſon upon the throne, he would again retire to terminate his days in mortification and prayer. Notwithſtanding the groſſneſs of this impoſture, the pitiableneſs and marvellous circumſtances of the tale, operating upon the diſcontent

diſcontent and ignorance of the people, procured him an infinite number of followers, among whom were many of the nobility of the government of Oremberg, where the troubles began, as well as of the adjoining countries. Afraid of being detected as a deſerter, he ran to the kozaks of the Don, and became adjutant to the ataman Ephraïmof. Thence he paſſed on to the inhabitants of the banks of the Yaïk, a river to which Catharine ſince gave the name of Ural*. Pugatſhef communicated to ſeveral of theſe kozaks the deſign he had formed of putting himſelf at the head of a party, and engaged them to accompany him into the mountains of Caucaſus, with the aſſurance that there they would find powerful ſuccours†. They were ignorant as yet that he had reſolved to give himſelf out for Peter III. But, as it was known that he was diſpoſing the people to ſedition, he was ſeized at Malekoſska, and ſent to take his

* It was to obliterate the memory of the revolt of theſe kozaks that the empreſs ordered the name of the river Yaïk to be changed into that of Ural, and the name of the mountains of Yaïk into that of the Uralſkoï mountains.

† The tartarts and the kozaks are very eaſily incited to revolt. An officer from Picardy, named Dorigny, who was colonel of dragoons in the ſervice of Ruſſia, propoſed in 1730 to the chargé d'affaires of France at Peterſburg, to raiſe three hundred thouſand Tſcheremiſſes, Kalmuks or Kozaks, and by that means to prevent the Ruſſians from furniſhing ſuccours to Auſtria. Dorigny pretended to be certain of ſucceſs; but the court of France refuſed to favour his project.

trial

trial at Kazan. The governor here neglected to profecute him. Pugatſhef, while in priſon, was frequently viſited by the popes, who, it is not to be doubted, were in poſſeſſion of his ſecret. They furniſhed him with money, which he employed in corrupting his guards, and made his eſcape. He immediately rejoined ſome of his old comrades, went down the Volga as far as the mouth of the Irghis, proceeded up that river, and penetrated into the deſert. Here he ſaw his company increaſing from day to day; and when he thought he might ſafely reckon on a formidable party, he publicly declared that he was the emperor Peter III. deliverered by a miracle from the hand of his aſſaſſins.

It was not at firſt known with certainty what could have moved him to this foul revolt, and induced him to act ſo dangerous a part. Some imagined it was at the inſtigation of the divan: and indeed the Turks could not have wiſhed for a more timely diverſion, and which actually, in 1773, wrought very powerfully in their behalf. Others ſaw in this buſineſs the finger of the french miniſtry, which on finding its hopes of the enervation of Ruſſia by the diſturbances in Poland and the war with Turkey fruſtrated, might have recurred to the artifice of raiſing up an inteſtine foe. However, of all this no trace was ever to be diſcovered. Pugatſhef had no foreigner about him, and often ſhewed that he was in want of far better

counſel

counſel than he could obtain from his own unformed though not very defective underſtanding. If any european cabinet was working at a diſtance upon him and through him, it was neceſſary that he ſhould at leaſt have begun his rebellion, ere the thought could have occurred to it of meddling in the matter. Perhaps therefore, as ſome ſurmiſed, the firſt movement was in himſelf. What was undeniably the cauſe that moved his tribe to join him was the religious diſcord that ſubſiſted between that race and the dominant church. Pugatſhef, beſides aſſuming the name and character of Peter III. did not want diſcernment to ſee how much it might advance his deſigns to blend religious pretences or prejudices with the political motives that might operate towards the bringing on of a revolution. In Ruſſia there is a ſort of ſeparatiſts, who in the former century ſprung up on the introduction of ſome alterations in the eccleſiaſtical rites and ceremonies by the patriarch Nicon The government encouraged his reformation; while many of the ſubjects regarded it with abhorrence as an innovation, and the patriarch himſelf as antichriſt. For theſe people the party-name Roſkolniki, which is tantamount to heretics or ſchiſmatics, was invented; but they call themſelves Starovertzi, or Believers according to the old faith. They reject all that is done by the prevailing church as unholy; becauſe they think the regular ſucceſſion of biſhops interrupted by Nicon, and therefore

refuſe to acknowledge his adherents for true prieſts. They deſpiſe the public worſhip which is adminiſtered by the clergy appointed by government, never receive the communion of them, nor ſuffer their children to be baptized at their hands. On the other hand, they boaſt their biſhops and prieſts to have received genuine conſecration from the patriarch Joſeph, which has been propagated in undiſturbed ſucceſſion. They live, however, ſo cloſe and retired, that their diſcipline and principles are not thoroughly known; as they have undergone ſome ſevere perſecutions, eſpecially in former times and ſo lately as under Peter I.—Catharine II. immediately on her acceſſion to the government, aboliſhed ſeveral regulations that tended much to the diſadvantage of the Roſkolniks. In Ruſſia proper there are but few of this ſect of faith; but all Siberia is full of them; and all the kozaks of the Don and of ſouthern Aſia are zealouſly attached to it. At firſt ſight it may appear ſurpriſing, that a rude and half-ſavage people ſhould take part in theological controverſies with ſo much zeal. But we learn from the hiſtory of Poland, that the horrible wars of that kingdom, with its protected relatives the kozaks, in the laſt century, had likewiſe religious cocercion for their foundation: a deſign was formed to force them to throw off the original form of their primitive religion, and to become of what were called the United. The hordes of kozaks ſeem to be extremely bigoted

to pure orthodoxy, and to hold all attempt at innovation in abhorrence. In fact, it is wonderful that governments should think of persecuting such simple honest beings for their notions on these and similar subjects.

Besides this violent animosity to the established church, and besides the natural inconsistency of this turbulent people, another circumstance occurred to the kozaks of the Yaïk. They had for several years before been engaged in violent differences with their attaman*, concerning the bounds of their fisheries, and the court was obliged to send, in 1767, general Traubenberg, and the captain of the guards Durnof, to quell them. But the kozaks were so dissatisfied with the decisions of these commissioners, that they murdered the general, and cruelly treated the captain. These crimes remained unpunished, because the government was too much employed in foreign concerns: a disadvantage that naturally attends a too great extent of empire, that foreign politics and war take off the attention and energy of government from the interior. The kozaks themselves, however, did not forget what they had done, and apprehended

* This word signifies a commander.—But it differs from hetman, which implies the chief of the kozak state collectively. This latter post, which confers great wealth as well as enormous power, the crown has often suffered to lie dormant. Elizabeth revived it for her favourite Razumofsky. Catharine abolished the dignity again in 1764, but afterwards conferred it on prince Potemkin.

very dangerous conſequences from it: they thought the crown was making preparations for revenge, and concluded that the beſt ſecurity on their ſide againſt it was a farther reſiſtance by means of rebellion: beſides, they fancied that the ſilence of the court was a mark of its weakneſs, and that they might therefore take theſe ſteps unheeded. Beſides, prince Vaſemſkoy, procureur-general of the ſenate, had deprived them of a great part of their paſturages, and forced them to ſell much of the live ſtock. The miniſter Zakhar Chernichef, after having diminiſhed their pay, already but ſmall, only anſwered their deputies, who brought their complaints to Peterſburg, by ordering them the battogues. They were alſo ordered to raiſe recruits for a regiment of huſſars. In ſhort, their minds in general were bent upon violent meaſures, when Pugatſhef made his appearance among them, and renewed to their imaginations the tranſactions of the Don-kozak Stenka Razin, who, in the preceding century, in the time of the reforming patriarch Nicon, had raiſed a formidable rebellion, firſt among the hordes of the Volga, and then among thoſe of the Yaïk. The kozaks, in general, from the levity natural to a people not tied down to a calm and ſedate way of life, are not accuſtomed to act with conſummate prudence, and have frequently cauſed alarm to the government; but on many occaſions likewiſe their bravery

and

and fidelity have been of eminent ſervice to the ruſſian empire.

Pugatſhef took the moſt effectual means of working on the temper of his nation by giving himſelf out for Peter III. pretending that he made his eſcape by flight, through an extraordinary intervention of Providence, from the murderers who were determined on his deſtruction, and in place of whom a ſoldier very like him had been ſubſtituted as a victim to their fury: that the report of his death was only a fiction coined by the court, to compoſe the minds of the people, and reconcile them to the preſent unlawful government, by being cut off from all hopes of a better.

The kozaks on the borders of the Caſpian, a credulous and ignorant race, and remote from all correſpondence with any principal towns, received in 1773, with honeſt joy, the private intelligence of the condition of the man to whom they looked up for deliverance from the oppreſſions of the predominant church; and, ſtrange as it may ſeem, this very circumſtance made the ſimple ſtory credible to them. In order to juſtify the dethronization of Peter, the people were at that time told, that he wanted to alter the dreſs and the rites of the clergy, to ſhake the eſtabliſhed religion to its very foundations and ſacrilegiouſly to diminiſh the ſplendid revenues of the church. What idea could the kozaks entertain of that emperor, according to this account of him, but as of a genuine

roſkolnik*, who, for that very reaſon, was deprived of his crown? Theſe roſkolniks now began to

* Theſe ſectaries, as ſaid above, are called, by the greek chriſtians, *roſkolniki* or heretics; but they deſignate themſelves by the appellation *ſtarovertzi*, or people of the antient faith.—To give an idea of the fanaticiſm and intrepidity of theſe wild chriſtians, we will cite the example of one of their prieſts, named Foma, or Thomas, who lived during the reign of Peter the great, and was burnt alive at Moſco, in the year 1715, for attempting to introduce, what he called a reformation in the ruſſian religion. Foma thought proper to preach at Moſco againſt the invocation of ſaints and ſome other dogmas of the dominant church. The clergy cited him to appear before them, and exhorted him to make a ſolemn abjuration of his erroneous tenets. Inſtead of kearkening to their admonitions, Foma armed himſelf with an axe, entered the church on the day of the feaſt of St. Alexius, and hewed to pieces, not only the figure of the ſaint, but that of the virgin. This done, he got up into the pulpit, to explain the motives of his conduct; but the people would not give him time to ſpeak. He was ſentenced to hold his right hand, with the hatchet in it, over a fire, till it was entirely conſumed, and then to be burnt alive. Foma heard his ſentence read with the utmoſt compoſure of mind; nor did his courage forſake him at the time of execution. He ſedately held his hand extended over the flame; and when he was laid upon the faggots, he continued to declaim againſt the abuſes that had been introduced into religion.—It happened in this, as it uſually does in ſimilar caſes, that the flames which conſumed the martyr, had a very different effect with reſpect to his opinions, which ſurvived him, and ſtill do, with great vigour. The adherents to theſe doctrines are in ſome of the provinces numerous, and it is with the greateſt reluctance, that they ſubmit to an outward compliance with the eſtabliſhed forms of the national church.—Whenever the government has thought fit to oblige the roſkolniks to embrace the ruſſian

to look about them, and found it highly natural, that he would throw himself into their arms as his brethren in the faith. With hearty attachment, therefore, they joined themselves to him; having before them the ravishing prospect of retaliating on the predominant church all the calamities it had brought upon their fathers, if the emperor should re-ascend the throne that of right belonged to him, by their assistance, and that then the orthodox believers would completely triumph over the execrable innovators, the cruel corrupters of the orthodox faith*.

About

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russian faith, numbers of them have assembled by families in barns, and have suffered themselves to be burnt alive. This happened in 1722, in various parts of Russia.

* The more to allure these people, and all others who found themselves moved with a spirit of reformation, to espouse his cause, Pugatshef issued a manifesto, in which he declared himself not only a supporter and protector of the doctrines of Foma, but also of religious liberty in general. To fascinate the imaginations of an ignorant people, a portrait of the supposed martyr, with an axe by which his hands were chopped off before he was burnt, were carried at the head of the army. An impostor, who called himself Foma, was also procured, who preached daily to the people, laying before them the doctrines of his predecessor, and expatiating in the most pathetic terms, upon the iniquity of the punishment which he suffered, and the cruelty of the torments which he endured. After thus working upon the passions of the people, he proceeded to explain to them the illegality of the present government, and to expatiate on the enormities of the court, particularly shewing the iniquity of the present war

About the middle of September, 1773, Pugatſhef's whole retinue conſiſted of nine perſons: a few days afterwards he was at the head of three hundred men. With theſe, on the 17th of September, he boldly preſented himſelf before Yaïtſk, and ſummoned that town to ſurrender, notwithſtanding there were in it five thouſand kozaks and two field-regiments. To theſe troops he ſent his manifeſto, in which he declared to them, among other things, "that he was Peter III. who had eſcaped from "Ropſcha at the inſtant when his aſſaſſins were "about to murder him; that the traitors who had "dethroned him, and dreaded his return, had "falſely invented and propagated the report of his "death; that he had been obliged to put on the "diſguiſe of a kozak, to bear arms for his pro-"ſecutors, and afterwards to conceal himſelf among "the true and faithful believers to whom he had "made himſelf known; that having learnt at length "that the brave kozaks of the Yaïk were reſolved to "free themſelves from the yoke of the uſurpatrix, "he was come to put himſelf into their hands, "and to offer to march with them to victory and "to vengeance." Immediately five hundred of

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with the Porte, by which, beſides its injuſtice, the empire was deſolated, and thouſands of men every day ſlaughtered. Theſe ſermons inflamed the minds of the hearers to ſuch a degree, that they departed from them with violent outcries, declaring themſelves for God, Peter the third, and Foma.

the

the kozaks came over to him, bringing with them eleven of their officers: the lieutenant-colonel, who was commander of the place, fearing leſt all his people ſhould deſert him, drew back into the town. Pugatſhef followed him, and cauſed that officer to be hanged up; and in this manner he even afterwards acted with all the commanders of the places to which he came. It would be impoſſible to deſcribe all the cruelties with which this barbarian treated the ſeveral perſons of rank that fell into his power; as well as to delineate his marches from place to place, his conqueſts of towns and his battles, which ſhew that he was not wanting in courage, and frequently not in regular plans and ſtratagems of war: nor would the attempt be leſs fruitleſs, to recount on the other ſide, all the miſtakes and negligences committed by the ruſſian commanders, and the baſeneſs with which numbers of them ſubmitted to him. General Karr was appointed by the court of Peterſburg to go and reſtore tranquillity. Whether he thought that the bare news of his arrival would diſperſe the rebels, he travelled poſt from Moſco to Orenburg, which Pugatſhef kept cloſe beſieged; by his raſhneſs and imprudence, however, he ſacrificed the whole of a large detachment; afterwards renewed the attack with what ſoldiers he had left, was beaten, and returned by poſt to Moſco with as much haſte as he had left it.

Pugatſhef, attended by his kozaks, as well thoſe

who were his firſt partiſans as the others who ſince attached themſelves to him, attacked the colonies which the empreſs had newly eſtabliſhed on the ſhores of the Irghis. He wanted their arms and their horſes: theſe he carried off, but did them no farther harm; for as yet he affected a moderation, to which ſoon ſucceeded the moſt atrocious brutality. Having already under his command fourteen thouſand ſoldiers, he preſented himſelf again before the gates of Yaïtſk. He ſent to the governor an order, ſigned with the name of Peter III. to ſurrender to him the town. The governor refuſed to obey; and Pugatſhef began the aſſault, but was courageouſly repulſed. Perceiving that it would be impoſſible to carry the place by force, he reſolved to turn the ſiege into a blockade, and oblige it to ſurrender by famine. This proved alike ineffectual; for the garriſon, though reduced to the neceſſity of eating the fleſh of their horſes, and even to live upon boiled leather, obſtinately continued to hold out, and repreſſed the inhabitants who wanted to open the gates to Pugatſhef. The patience and the zeal of this garriſon were nobly rewarded. A conſiderable body of ruſſian forces came to its relief juſt in time to ſave it from the maſſacre, to which there is no doubt that it had been devoted by the rebels.

Pugatſhef was not long ere he compenſated himſelf for this diſappointment. He ſurpriſed the tribes Œlœts, and took, ſword in hand, the two fortreſſes

fortreſſes by which they were protected. The fort of Tatiſcheva, which he afterwards attacked, made a ſtouter reſiſtance: but the fortifications being only of timber, he conſigned it to the flames, and forced the garriſon to ſeek their ſafety by flight.

The governor of Orenburg, informed of the progreſs of the rebels, marched againſt them a detachment under the orders of colonel Bulof. This officer was deficient both in prudence and fortitude: and, being ſurpriſed in the defiles of the mountains by the troops of Pugatſhef, he was inhumanly put to the ſword. Thoſe of his ſoldiers who refuſed to enliſt among the rebels remained priſoners. General Chernichef, who at the head of a ſecond detachment, was to have joined colonel Bulof, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurpriſed as the latter had been, and met with a ſimilar fate.

The army of Pugatſhef being now grown ſtrong by forced recruits and voluntary and more numerous acceſſions of kozaks, that rebel returned to the attack upon Orenburg. The governor of the town had already reduced himſelf by the ſeveral detachments he had ſent againſt the rebels. The ſoldiers that remained to him were not in a condition for making any defence. Orenburg was on the point of being taken, when the garriſon of Kraſnogorſk advanced with ſuccours, and valiantly cutting a paſſage through the beſiegers, threw themſelves into the place and ſaved it.

The

The noiſe of the rapid conqueſts of Pugatſhef gained him new adherents. Whole hordes came and ranked under his ſtandards: the Baſhkirs, a people who live principally by the products of the chace, upon the ruſſian territory, and wear its yoke with diſcontent, declared themſelves for the rebels, and furniſhed them with numerous recruits. The Kirghiſes, ſhortly after followed the Baſhkirs; they were imitated by the Budyak Tartars, whom the empreſs had cauſed to be tranſported to the banks of the Volga after the capture of Bender, and who could never forgive that empreſs for their tranſplantation. The revolt ſpread itſelf into the other colonies of thoſe countries. The peaſants employed in the copper mines and the founderies of the mountains of Ural, left their work and took up arms.

Pugatſhef now vigorouſly puſhed the ſiege of Orenburg. While the trenches, were occupied by one part of his troops, the other went and brought off the copper money which is coined on the ſpot and laid up in ſtores. Here he alſo caſt cannon and balls for the ſervice of the operations againſt the town. He employed ſome of the winter months in this ſiege*, during which time he de-

* The town was reduced to the laſt extremities. A pood of flour coſt one hundred and forty rubles. The inhabitants then thought of making a jelly of the ſkins of animals, drying the jelly, and pulverizing it, they made it into bread by mixing with it a little flour.

livered

livered himself up to the excesses of debauchery and cruelty.

The rebels had by this time so numerous an army, that the regiments sent from Kazan often narrowly escaped being forced, in defending the passage of the mountains which separate that city from Orenburg. During the winter a body of ten thousand Kalmuks, after having revolted in the environs of Stavropol, and slain the brigadier Véguézac* their commander, joined themselves to the troops of Pugatshef. But what contributed perhaps to render his army still more formidable, was a great number of the Poles whom Catharine had sent into exile in the deserts of Siberia. Glorying in so many advantages, Pugatshef ran over the mountains of the government of Orenburg, committing depredations wherever he came. The petty town of Ufa was the only one that made any resistance. He committed the siege of it to one of the chiefs of his army, and marched strait to Ekatarinenburg, where he knew that there was a depositt of nearly a million of rubles in copper money newly coined. An accident saved the town. At the instant when Pugatshef came up to it, he received the false intelligence that a russian army, superior in force to his own, was advancing by a circuitous route. He believed the information: and having slackened his march in order to collect his forces,

* He was a french refugee.

left

left time to the regiments diſperſed on the frontiers of Siberia, to come to the defence of Ekatarinenburg.

For ſome time after Pugatſhef had taken arms, obſervant of the leſſons he had received from the hermits of Podolia and the prieſts of the roſkolniki, he put on the appearance of much moderation and piety. He wore an epiſcopal robe, gave the benediction to the people, repeating his aſſurances that for himſelf he was, deſtitute of all ambition, and that he had no other deſign than to place the grand duke his ſon on the throne, and then go and finiſh his days among the pious recluſes, who had afforded him ſo convenient an aſylum after his eſcape from his aſſaſſins. This artful conduct procured him ſoldiers. Other means obtained him victory; and then adding courage to activity, he let no opportunity eſcape him for ſpreading far and wide the terror of his arms. He dexterouſly took advantage of the knowledge of the country in which he conducted his warfare, and the imprudence or the weakneſs of the enemy. He never abandoned the pillage of a canton but in order to fly to a ſiege; and ſcarcely had he obliged a town to ſubmit, before he was on the march to engage in a battle. But this man, who triumphed with ſuch rapidity over all the ſeverities of fortune, was incapable of ſupporting its favours. Succeſs increaſed his arrogance; he thought it impoſſible to meet with obſtacles which he ſhould not eaſily ſurmount.

He

He threw aſide all conſtraint, gave ſcope to his ſanguinary temper and to his brutal paſſions, ſuffered the enthuſiaſm of his partiſans to cool, gave time to his adverſaries to prepare to ſubdue him, and at length was ſuddenly ſtopped in his mad career.

The ſpirit of rebellion had ſpread as far as Moſco. Marſhal Romantzof had not dared to weaken himſelf by ſending ſuccours to that capital, which was defended only by a garriſon of ſix hundred men. Pugatſhef had no more to do than to preſent himſelf before it, for making himſelf maſter of the place: he neglected to go. Thus loſing by his own fault, not only the ſecond city of the empire in point of conſequence, but an army alſo of one hundred thouſand vaſſals who expected him there, and only waited his arrival for eſcaping from bondage.

Pugatſhef neglected even to profit by the advantages he had gained in the provinces which had ſubmitted to his arms. He ſpent the greater part of the winter in the uſeleſs ſieges of Orenburg and Yaïtſk. It was before Orenburg that he exterminated by the ſabre all the officers and gentry of the country round; not ſparing even their wives and their children: determined, as he ſaid, to ſhed the very laſt drop of blood of the haughty and tyrannical nobility. But, by a ſtrange inconſiſtency, at the ſame time that he was inhumanly butchering the nobles, he conferred

on thoſe of his partiſans, of whom he thought himſelf moſt ſure, the names of the principal families of the empire, and the enſigns of divers orders of knighthood.

He alienated a number of his countrymen by braving the religious prejudices in behalf of which he had at firſt performed the part of a zealot. Although he had been married for ſome years to Sophia the daughter of a kozak, and had three children by his union, he had the effrontery at Yaïtſk to marry a public woman, and celebrated his nuptials with all the bacchanal licentiouſneſs worthy of the wife he had eſpouſed.

Catharine, alarmed at the rebellion that menaced her throne, ſeriouſly ſet about checking its progreſs. She recalled general Bibikof from the frontiers of Turkey, gave him the command of a conſiderable army, with orders to march againſt the rebels. At the ſame time ſhe cauſed a manifeſto to be publiſhed at St. Peterſburg, and circulated through the principal towns of the empire*.

Three new ukaſes followed cloſe upon that which announced the march of Bibikof. In one of them the people were admoniſhed to obſerve henceforth no laws but ſuch as were ſigned by the empreſs's own hand: in another all deſerters, and eſpecially the kozaks of the Don and the Yaïk, to return to the ſtandard of the empreſs, aſſuring

* See the appendix No. XII. at the end of this volume.

them

them of an amneſty to be in force till the firſt of April in the enſuing year. Laſtly, by the third a reward was ſet upon the head of Pugatſhef, promiſing a recompence of one hundred thouſand rubles to whoever ſhould put him to death*.

Neither was Pugatſhef, on his ſide, ſparing of manifeſtos; and on their publication he always took care to affix the name of Peter III. By one of theſe manifeſtos he affranchiſed all the boors. He alſo cauſed rubles to be ſtruck, with his effigy and this inſcription: "Peter III. emperor and "autocrator of all the Ruſſias." And on the reverſe, "Redivivus et ultor."

In the mean time general Bibikof was already at Kazan†. Having received advice that the rebels had made themſelves maſters of Samara, he detached a part of his army to go and retake that city. The ſiege was not of long continuance. The rebels abandoned the place with eight pieces of cannon and two hundred priſoners.

The nobleſſe of Kazan were convoked; and general Bibikof invited them to join him in oppoſing the rebellion. To this the nobleſſe were already diſpoſed, as it was their own cauſe which they had to defend. Their example was followed

* It plainly appears that the empreſs was much alarmed at this revolt, and yet ſhe had ſo much ſelf-command as to make a jeſt of it in ſome of her letters. She even called the chief of the rebels *le marquis Pugatſhef*.

† He arrived there the 25th of December, 1773.

by

by thoſe of Sinbirſk, of Penza, and ſeveral other governments; and the regiments they formed without loſs of time conſiderably augmented the forces of Bibikof. Catharine then wrote to that general, "that not only ſhe ſaw with gratitude the "zeal which the nobles had ſo generouſly diſplay-"ed, in offering to ſacrifice every thing to the pub-"lic welfare; but that to give on that occaſion a "ſhining mark of her benevolence, ſhe had reſol-"ved to become herſelf a member of the nobility "of Kazan, and to be regarded as a denizen of "that city."

Lieutenant-colonel Grinef gained a firſt advantage at Alexief*. After an obſtinate reſiſtance, the rebels left him maſter of the field of battle and three pieces of cannon. A few days afterwards they fell upon him while on his march, but they were again diſcomfited. Some other lieutenants of Bibikof obtained alſo conſiderable ſucceſſes in engagements with ſeveral bodies of Tartars. Notwithſtanding which, the rebels increaſed in numbers and inſolence from day to day. They ran from all parts of eaſtern Ruſſia, and ravaged an extent of country of upwards of ſix hundred leagues.

General Bibikof having advanced at the head of thirty-five thouſand men, forced Pugatſhef to raiſe the ſiege of Orenburg, where a famine was beginning to rage. The rebels retreated into the environs of Tatiſcheva. Bibikof ſent in purſuit of them

* The 9th of January.

major-

major-general prince Gallitzin with a conſiderable body of troops. Prince Gallitzin attacked Pugatſhef, and fought him valiantly: but for this firſt time he obtained no decided advantage. On this occaſion he could not help remarking, that the ferocious intrepidity of the rebels was directed by officers who had not acquired the whole of their ſkill in the deſerts of Baſchkiria or among the tents of the Kalmuks *.

On his retreat from prince Gallitzin, Pugatſhef changed all at once the courſe of his march, and fell upon Bibikof, who had only kept with him a weak part of his army. The conflict was bloody, and the ruſſian general loſt his life.

Prince Gallitzin burnt with the deſire to revenge the death of Bibikof. He attacked the rebels again near Kargaula, twelve miles from Orenburg: in this action he killed a great number of them, and diſperſed the reſt. Pugatſhef that day fought ſix hours; but ſeeing himſelf abandoned on all ſides, he took to flight, and eſcaped with difficulty to the mountains of Ural, where he was joined by his partiſans with all poſſible ſpeed. But preſently appearing again with a conſiderable army, he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places to the eaſt of the mountains, ſetting fire to ſuch as made the leaſt

* It is affirmed, that among them was a brother of the famous Pulauſky, general of the confederation of Bar. Beſides ſome of their leaders, as Antizof, Uffiief, and Naiga-Baka-Azanof, were brave and intelligent men.

reſiſtance. Here he was attacked by a body of Ruſſians, who routed him afreſh, and obliged him to take again to the inacceſſible heights: where perceiving that the only courſe he had to purſue was to attempt at retrieving his fortune by ſome ſignal advantage, all at once he deſcended from the ſummits of Ural, and marched with rapidity towards Kazan, leaving marks of his cruelty at every ſtep of his way. No ſooner had he appeared before Kazan, but he ſet the ſuburbs in one conflagration. Major-general Paul Potemkin *, governor of the province, might have kept the field againſt Pugatſhef, and have oppoſed himſelf to the combuſtion of Kazan: he choſe rather to ſhut himſelf up in the fortreſs, where the rebels beſieged him, and would inevitably have taken him, if colonel Mikelſon had not come up to his deliverance. Pugatſhef had not even dared to wait for Mikelſon, but precipitately raiſed the ſiege, and fled: Mikelſon, however, went after him, came up with him, haraſſed him for three days, and at laſt gave him a total defeat, after a long and bloody conteſt.

Pugatſhef continued fighting in his defence till he had not above three hundred kozaks left. With this troop, whoſe bravery and fidelity ſupported the hope of the impoſtor, he put ſpurs to his horſe, croſſed the Volga, and gained the deſert.

It might have been reaſonably expected that this

* He was a couſin of prince Potemkin.

defeat

defeat would have intimidated all ſuch as had formed the project of joining the rebels; and yet Pugatſhef ſaw daily arriving about him whole ſwarms of kozaks, of Kalmuks, of Baſhkirs, and boors, whom the very ſound of liberty, and the hope of eſcaping their oppreſſive maſters, had cauſed to abandon their labour, and fly to arms. Proud of the number of his troops, who ſeemed to multiply in proportion as they were deſtroyed by the ruſſian cannon, he reſolved to proceed to the attack of Moſco. His partiſans continued ſecretly to fan the flames of rebellion. The people waited for him as for a redeemer; but it was too late. At the inſtant that Pugatſhef was beginning his march, he learnt that the Ruſſians had juſt concluded a peace with the Ottomans. Dreading now that he ſhould have to contend with the greater part of the army of marſhal Romantzof, he thought of turning his arms to another quarter.

Intelligence being brought him that ſome ruſſian regiments were encamped on the ſhores of the Volga, he deſcended along that river, came upon thoſe regiments by ſurpriſe, routed them entirely, and took by aſſault two or three little forts, of which Saratof was one. The commander, who knew the cataſtrophe to which he was doomed, ſeized the moment when the conqueror was buſied in pillage, and eſcaped with fifty men alone. The town of Dmitrefsk was baſely ſurrendered by trea-

chery to Pugatſhef, who had the barbarity to cauſe the governor to be impaled alive.

While he was at Dmitrefsk, he was told that the aſtronomer Lovitch, member of the imperial academy of ſciences at St. Peterſburg, was employed in the neighbourhood in taking levels for a canal projected between the Don and the Volga. He immediately commanded him to be brought before him; and when the learned and peaceful aſtronomer was in his preſence, he ordered his men to lift him up upon their pikes, "in order," ſaid he, "that he may be nearer the ſtars;" and then cauſed him to be cut in pieces by the kozaks. But ſuch atrocious acts cannot be of long duration; and the greater the exceſſes committed by Pugatſhef the greater was the ſecurity of the empreſs.

That princeſs, freed from the cares ſo long occaſioned her by the war with the Turks, gave orders to ſend freſh troops againſt the rebels, and committed the command of them to general Panin, who had gained great reputation by the taking of Bender. But from the moment that prince Orlof was reinſtated in favour, his inveterate hatred to the miniſter extended itſelf to his brother alſo: and the empreſs conſented, for ſome time, to let one of her beſt generals remain in a ſtate of inaction. The want ſhe had of him, or rather the reviving favour of his brother, induced her to employ him again. At length he ſet out on his march againſt Pugatſhef.

Pugatſhef. The rebel forces were bearing hard upon the town of Tzaritzin, and doubtleſs intending for it a ſimilar fate with that of Saratof; but they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege with precipitation. Panin ſent off a detachment to colonel Mikelſon. With this reinforcement Mikelſon cut off the convoys of Pugatſhef, ſtarved his army, and attacked him at the very time when, encumbered with many carts loaded with baggage, and a multitude of women who accompanied it, it was engaged in the intricate paſſes of the mountains. Notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of their poſition, the rebels determined not to ſubmit. Great numbers of them were killed on the ſpot; and many of the reſt periſhed in the precipices, and among the ſteep and rugged rocks where they ſought a refuge.

Pugatſhef kept the field of battle till he had abſolutely no more means of defence. He now again ſwam over the Volga; then croſſed the vaſt deſert which extends through the adjacent diſtrict, and found himſelf at nearly the ſame place where he firſt raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion. Several of his friends had rejoined him on his flight; but hunger, fatigue, and diſappointment determined great numbers to forſake him: notwithſtanding which, he might long have cauſed diſturbance to the empire, if treachery had not ſtepped in to the aſſiſtance of the ruſſian army.

Antizof, the intimate confidant of Pugatſhef, and one of the chiefs who had the moſt authority with

the kozaks, had been taken priſoner; and his conſequence was employed in reducing his nation to obedience. Gifts and promiſes were laviſhed upon him; and he was commiſſioned to aſſure his countrymen that the cuſtomary gratifications for the defence of the frontiers ſhould be renewed. The expences occaſioned by the war againſt the Turks had cauſed the payment of theſe gratifications to be ſuſpended: and this was one of the motives that gave birth to the inſurrection of the kozaks.

But, after all, to the indefatigable exertions of colonel Mikelſon, Ruſſia is peculiarly indebted for the quelling of this dangerous rebellion. From January 1774, he purſued the rebels without intermiſſion, how numerous ſoever their ſwarms, how remote the expedition, and whatever fortune attended his enterpriſes. It almoſt exceeds belief with what toilſome perſeverance Mikelſon purſued his march over the deſerts of trackleſs ſnow, without a guide, without ſuccours, at times almoſt without food; how his company, always ſmall, and often ſpent with fatigue, whenever they met with the great hoſt of the rebels, always attacked, and always beat them: only by the prudence and the bravery of the colonel, and the confidence he had acquired from his troops. Upwards of ſeven thouſand verſts did this excellent ſoldier traverſe at the head of his corps, within a few months, in the moſt inclement ſeaſon.

Pugatſhef had at one time with him a prodigious concourſe

concourſe of people. Whole nations, the Baſhkirs, many of the Votiaks, many Tartars, flocked to his banners. He conceived the grand idea of conquering the ancient and great capital of the kingdom of Kazan; and his attempt ſucceeded. Only the detached fort which Potemkin had entered held out againſt his attacks. The archbiſhop of Kazan came ſubmiſſively, with a bag of gold in his hand, to the conqueror, and only waited for the fort to ſurrender, that he might bring him a ſecond bag, and ſolemnly crown the rebel. The impreſſion this circumſtance would have made on the people is not to be told. In the regions of Orenburg, Kazan, and Uſa, the generality of the inhabitants had declared for the impoſtor. When the reſtleſs Mikelſon preſſed him hard, when he was in want of proviſions, or military operations compelled him to change his quarters; when, by battles loſt, the number of his effective followers was diminiſhed to four thouſand men: he needed only to ſhew himſelf in new diſtricts, and the ſubjects immediately roſe againſt their lords, murdered them, or drove them away, and declared themſelves openly for Pugatſhef. At length he ſeemed to have formed the moſt dangerous of his plans: he was approaching faſt to Europe, and had croſſed the Volga. Whole regions went over to him. With the utmoſt conſternation it was thought poſſible that he might puſh on to Moſco; for it is a well known fact, that the extremely numerous po-

pulace of that capital were diſpoſed to join him, and longed for his arrival. If he had attempted this with haſty marches, nothing could have reſiſted him: and who can calculate the conſequences if Moſco had fallen into his hands? But here Pugatſhef ſhewed that, though endowed with talents and great preſence of mind*, yet he was too much of the barbarian for the execution of any great plan as a ſtateſman or commander: he neglected Moſco, though it is ſaid that the general diſpoſition there was not unknown to him; and loſt his time in tempting over the kozaks of the Don and the Tartars of the Kuban. Now his perſecutor Mikelſon came up, and cut him off from Moſco; the reſt of the troops ſurrounded him, and ſhut up his waſted army in a deſert five hundred verſts in length behind Tzaritzin. Hunger, thirſt, and awakening conſcience, opened the eyes of his followers. As he was prolonging his miſerable life by gnawing the bones of a horſe, ſome of the principal of them ran up to him, ſaying, "Come, thou "haſt been long enough emperor." He fired a piſtol, and ſhattered the arm of the foremoſt; the

* At the Don his firſt wife had been found out, (for at the Yaïk he married a ſecond,) and been ſent to Kazan before that city was conquered, in order to convince the people of thoſe parts of his real condition and origin. On his arrival there he happened quite unexpectedly to ſee her, and, knowing her, he ſaid, without the leaſt alteration of countenance, "Clothe that "woman well. I knew her huſband; he has been of great ſer-"vice to me on many occaſions."

reſt

reſt of the kozaks bound him, ran away with their priſoner over the deſert to their ſeat on the Yaïk, and ſent a meſſenger to the commandant of the place to inform him of what they had done. General Suvarof, hearing of the event, put the rebel under a ſufficient guard, and ſent him to priſon at Yaïtſk, from which place he brought him to Sinbirſk, where he delivered him over to general count Panin (who had formerly taken his diſmiſſion, but, from real patriotiſm had requeſted to be permitted to have a ſhare in this conteſt *.) Mikelſon was purſuing the enemy in the deſerts, when he received intelligence of the fate of the leaders of the inſurgents. Upon this he conducted his troops to Saratof, to reſt after the fatigues they had undergone, but proceeded himſelf to Sinbirſk, where Panin gave him a noble and friendly reception, and whence Catharine recalled him, in order to recompenſe him according to his deſert.—Thus

* It is poſſible that the virtue, which had hitherto baffled the hopes of reward, was not proof againſt the fears of death, and that theſe kozaks had offered, on condition of obtaining a pardon, to find out their chief and deliver him up alive. It was ſaid, that while Antizof was negociating his accommodation, three other kozaks, who had likewiſe been bribed, undertook to deliver up Pugatſhef; that, accordingly, they went to him, and adviſed him, as no means were now left him of ſafety, to make a voluntary ſurrender; that, incenſed at this baſeneſs as he called it, he wanted to puniſh one of them on the ſpot; and that then the three fell upon him at once, bound him, &c. The fact as related in the text, came out on the trial.

terminated

terminated the rebellion, in which an hundred thouſand men were ſlain.

General Panin cauſed the traitor Pugatſhef to be put into cloſe confinement at his head-quarters, together with ſeveral of his principal accomplices.

The wretched man, in his preſent deplorable ſtate, preſerved a melancholy but unconquerable ſilence. He was conveyed to Moſco * in an iron cage, and ſuch meaſures uſed as prevented the poſſibility of his deſtroying himſelf. He for ſome days refuſed all ſuſtenance; but his keepers found means to compel him to eat. In his ſubſequent examinations at Moſco, he is ſaid, either to have counterfeited madneſs, or to have been in reality a wretched enthuſiaſt, ſtill perſevering in his pretenſions to the empire, and reſting thereon his whole plea of defence.

It is, however, to be remembered, that facts tranſpire with great difficulty through the walls in which ſuch examinations are taken, and that the reports given out for the gratification of the people, only wear the momentary colour which at the time it is thought neceſſary to give them. In a letter written by the empreſs, upon this occaſion, to the french king, after informing him that the author of the revolt was in her power, ſhe ſays, "I ſhall keep his depoſitions ſecret, that they may "not aggravate the diſgrace of thoſe who ſet him

* Pugatſhef arrived at Moſco in the month of September 1774, and was executed the 21ſt of January following.

"on."

" on." This reſolution undoubtedly argues both good ſenſe and magnanimity; but ſhews at the ſame time, that Pugatſhef was only an inſtrument, and that the ſources of the rebellion were to be traced elſewhere.

When the empreſs was informed that Pugatſhef was in the priſon of Moſco, ſhe appointed a commiſſion, who united with the ſenate, for the trial of the rebel: taking care, at the ſame time, to recommend to them to be ſatisfied with the confeſſion of his crime, without applying the torture, and without requiring him to name his accomplices. Her majeſty was doubtleſs apprehenſive leſt the declarations of the culprit might oblige her to multiply puniſhments, and plunge the empire into new calamities.

The ſentence paſſed on Pugatſhef was, that he ſhould have his two hands and both his feet cut off; that they ſhould be ſhewn to the people; and that afterwards he ſhould be quartered alive. But this butchering ſentence was not fulfilled. By ſome perſons it is ſaid that it was mitigated by a ſecret order from the empreſs. Others pretend that the executioner was leſs inhuman * than the judges; and others again affirm, that it was by a mere miſtake of the man. However it be, Pugatſhef was firſt decapitated; after which his body was

* What ſeems to confirm this opinion is, that, after the execution of Pugatſhef, the wretched hangman had his tongue cut out, and was ſent into Siberia.

cut

cut into quarters, which were expoſed in as many parts of the town. Five of his principal accomplices were likewiſe beheaded; three others were hanged; and eighteen more underwent the knoot, and were ſent to Siberia. Pugatſhef met his fate with the moſt undaunted reſolution, but was induced to acknowledge the juſtice of his ſentence, the deception he had uſed, with his true name and condition. It is ſaid, that an obſervation made ſeveral years ago, by the celebrated count Tottleben of the ſtriking reſemblance which he bore to the late emperor Peter III. took ſuch poſſeſſion of his mind, as to have been the operating cauſe of that calamity and ruin in which he involved, with himſelf, a great part of the empire, which coſt it the deſtruction of a great number of towns, and of upwards of two hundred and fifty villages, the interruption of the works at the mines of Orenburg, and the whole trade of Siberia. The Baſhkirs, who in 1770, amounted to twenty-ſeven thouſand families, loſt, during the rebellion, great numbers of people, and, after it was finally quelled, many of their privileges and immunities. The Meſtſheræks, a tartar nation, who lived amongſt them, formerly paid them a land-tax; this, as a puniſhment on the former, was now aboliſhed; for the Meſtſheræks had remained true to the crown: they were immediately declared to be a free people, on the footing of the kozaks, and received ſeveral of the villages of the ſlaughtered

Baſhkirs, reckoned at one thouſand eight hundred and forty-nine farms.—Laſtly, in order to make an awful impreſſion on the nations around, by a laſting and ſenſible token of diſpleaſure, the empreſs, by a ukaſe, aboliſhed the name of Yaïk for ever. That river, which takes its riſe from the eaſtern ſide of the mounts Ural, and gave name to the kozaks that dwell on its borders, is at preſent, throughout the ruſſian empire, called the Ural: and the town Yaïtſk, where Pugatſhef began and finiſhed his rebellion, bears now the name of Uralſk.

The rebellion of Pugatſhef was of longer continuance than could have been expected, conſidering the numberleſs defeats which his party received. Over thoſe waſte and wide regions, whoſe exact boundaries are ſcarcely known, and in whoſe general diſplay, the extenſive kingdoms of Kazan and Aſtrakhan appear only as provinces, are ſcattered a number of ſmall nations, frequently diſtinct in religion, manners or language, and ſo ſeparated by deſerts, and other natural impediments, that though in general, and in ſome degree, they are under one controlling government, it frequently happens, that they have very little knowledge of each other. Such ſituations, ſuch a difference of people, all extremely ignorant, with ſuch boundleſs ſcenes of action, afford opportunities for adventure, impoſture, eſcapes from purſuit, and a renewal

newal of rebellion or war, which are unknown in confined countries and among civilized nations.

We have already ſhewn, that ſoon after the commencement of Pugatſhef's rebellion, the court of Peterſburg had publiſhed a manifeſto, to caution the people againſt the artifices and pretences of that impoſtor. At the ſame time, a reward of one hundred thouſand rubles, together with the decorations of all the ruſſian orders of knighthood, was offered to any perſon who would ſecure him, whether alive or dead. Though this was an immenſe ſum of money in ſuch remote countries, and the favour of the court, with the propoſed honours, would have been temptations, almoſt, reſiſtleſs in any; yet ſo high are certain principles of honour held among rude nations, that of the many thouſand barbarians to whoſe cuſtody he was of neceſſity obliged at all times to intruſt his perſon, and in the various ſituations and opportunities which misfortune, defeat, flight, ſolitude, and darkneſs, preſented during the courſe of his adventures, not one could be found baſe enough to accept of thoſe rewards at the price of the propoſed treachery.

The rebels were attended with conſiderable ſucceſs in the beginning of the troubles, and by their great ſuperiority in number, cut off ſome detachments of the regular forces which were aſſembled haſtily to oppoſe them. Some ruſſian officers of name periſhed in theſe encounters, and the rebels cruelly

cruelly maſſacred all thoſe who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. They poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral places which were of ſome note in thoſe countries, and for a long time beſieged Orenburg, the capital of the province of that name. We find by the detail, that they were poſſeſſed of a conſiderable train of artillery, though no notice is taken of the means by which it was obtained. It does not appear upon the whole, that Pugatſhef, though artful and bold in his deſigns, had any great talents as a ſoldier, nor was endued with thoſe heroic qualities which, however ſavage in the exertion, have wonderful effects upon mankind, and had often been productive of extraordinary revolutions in that part of the world.

Thus the empreſs Catharine conducted and concluded a dangerous and moſt extenſive war, which involved a great part of Europe and Aſia in its operations, with the higheſt honour to herſelf, and the greateſt glory and advantage to her country; while, at the ſame time that ſhe was ſo deeply engaged with an enemy who for many ages had been deemed invincible, and had ſo long continued the ſcourge and terror of the chriſtian world, ſhe was alſo equal to the oppoſing and ſurmounting of an obſtinate and alarming rebellion, which preyed upon the very vitals of the empire. In the former inſtance ſhe outſtripped the glory of Peter the great, by wiping off the diſgrace which he met with,

with upon the Pruth, and ſucceeding in the only point in which he was foiled.

On recalling to our memory at once the momentous occurrences that followed one another ſo rapidly in ſuch a ſhort ſeries of years, we are loſt in admiration of that mind which could calmly and ſedately ſurvey their tumultuous ſucceſſion, and could, in perfect compoſure, provide the fitteſt means for aſſuaging their violence, and correcting their influence, while it ſhewed itſelf firm and great in all other tranſactions of a public nature, both foreign and domeſtic, ſo as to gain the reverence of friends, and extort the reſpect of foes. But this is not all: ever intereſted in promoting the glory and elevation of the country which had fallen under her guidance, Catharine at the ſame time was promoting its internal welfare, by encouraging the ſciences and the arts of peace; and wherever ſhe appeared, eaſe and cheerfulneſs were in her train; and her converſations and letters were always ſeaſoned with pleaſantry and temperate mirth.

Shortly after the puniſhment of Pugatſhef, the empreſs had a freſh opportunity for diſplaying her clemency, by granting a pardon to men who, though not guilty of crimes of ſo heinous a nature as thoſe of that traitor, yet were juſtly deſerving of capital puniſhment. They were the treaſurers of the empire, who had embezzled the public money.

Catharine

Catharine would not even allow them to be brought to trial. She had overcome what was naturally irascible and violent in her temper, and had learnt patience and lenity from the lessons of philosophy. She has also been heard to say, "What I cannot "overthrow, I undermine and root up." The heavy burden incurred by her foreign and domestic wars did not prevent the empress from taking off most of the taxes which were laid for their support; and, as if the strength and riches of government in her country increased with its expence, she also abolished a number of the ancient taxes, which were either considered as discouraging to agriculture, or burdensome and oppressive to particular provinces or orders of the people. In the same spirit of beneficence and good policy, she lent great sums of money, interest free, and for a specified term of years, to those provinces which were ruined by the late rebellion; and, to crown a general pardon, she strictly forbad any particulars of that unfortunate affair to be called up, or any reproaches used on its account, but condemned all matters relative to it to perpetual silence and oblivion.

She also established a number of other regulations, all tending to the security, advantage, and happiness of her subjects, to abolish pernicious distinctions, destroy ruinous monopolies, restrain the cruelty of punishment, remove oppressive or impolitic restrictions or prohibitions, and to re-

ſtore mankind to a more equitable degree of equality, in thoſe different ranks which they fill in ſociety. A pardon was alſo granted to thoſe criminals who had already undergone a long degree of ſuffering for their crimes; and an ordinance iſſued to prevent any future criminal proſecution from being admitted, unleſs commenced within ten years after the date of the accuſation. Equal humanity was ſhewn with reſpect to impriſoned debtors, who, under certain limitations, and in certain circumſtances, were releaſed from confinement. All the heirs of the debtors to the crown were diſcharged from their bonds and obligations.

The inſurgents now returned every where to their duty. The revolted provinces were already completely ruined; ſo that the inhabitants required little further puniſhment than what they had brought upon themſelves. Some examples were neceſſarily made, in thoſe places which were moſt remarkable for their diſaffection; but we do not find that the ſeverities were exceſſive, nor the victims to juſtice numerous. In the mean time, a general famine prevailed in thoſe deſolated countries, and government was at great expence and trouble in ſending corn and meal, from its magazines at Moſco and other places, to prevent the people from immediately periſhing. As theſe reſources were unequal to the ſupplying of whole countries, for any length of time, with proviſion, other methods were afterwards deviſed to prevent the progreſs of the famine.

Thus Ruſſia enjoyed her power, influence, and glory, with a noble and ſplendid magnificence. All her affairs, were conducted upon a great and extenſive ſyſtem; and all her acts were in a grand ſtyle. She ſat ſupreme between Europe and Aſia, and looked like the dictator of both. In her was ſeen a great but ſtill growing empire, which, not having reached the ſummit of her deſtined power, felt life and vigour glowing in every part. The ſucceſſes and conſequences of the war enlarged the ſpirit, extended the views, and dignified the minds of the people. In ſuch a ſtate every thing is bold and maſculine. Even vices and crimes are great.

If Catharine was able to do ſo much for the benefit of her country during ſuch turbulent times, what might not be expected of her in a period of peace?—She would, however, have performed much more, if even this period had been ſo calm as at firſt ſight it would appear. But it was not. If no war employed the empreſs to the detriment of her internal adminiſtration of government, yet foreign affairs attracted too much of her attention. There was no great tranſaction in which ſhe would not interfere; and in order to interfere with ſo much impreſſion, with ſo ſignificant an influence, as ſhe did, a great force muſt be kept up, and a ready participation conſtantly viſible in all the occurrences of Europe. She might have looked on with indifference when ambitious princes joſtled

each other, or feeble governments were haſtening to their fall; but the former contended for her countenance, and the latter awakened in her the idea of ſtill adding to the territory of her prodigious empire. Alliances, guarantees, leagues, preparations, meaſures for attracting more reſpect, deciſive arbitrations, plans for future enterpriſes; in ſhort, every thing which the luſt of dominion can ſuggeſt, and in which policy can be employed; was the object of Catharine's mighty mind; which, ſecure from every power on the earth, could act in any voluntary direction. And even envy itſelf muſt confeſs, that ſhe performed her part in the grand drama of the world with a dignity never ſeen before:—here a kingdom was to be treated as a province of her dominions; there, an independent ſtate to be annihilated by a manifeſto: here bounds were to be ſet to the arrogance of a foreign potentate; there, a gigantic project to be conducted and advanced. All muſt allow, that ſhe was never forgetful of the intereſts of her empire: new life and improved organization ſprung up beneath her forming hand. But that outward activity diſturbed the fixed and ſteady view of the interior, and kindled at length a war, which though ſhe again triumphantly concluded, yet unneceſſarily emptied her exchequer, and waſted her army. Among her neighbours aroſe jealouſy and the deſire to hurt, which acquired the legitimate appearance of ſelf-defence. Thus were brought together

gether from all ſides the embers of a dangerous combuſtion, while ſmiling fortune ſeemed preparing for the empire the bleſſings of peace.—Had Catharine ſhewn a generous ſcorn for foreign fame and never engaged in a war; or, perhaps more properly, had never ſelf-intereſt in the maſk of flattery encompaſſed her throne; in all probability hiſtory would have had but one voice in extolling her as the model for ſovereigns.

A politician of great ſagacity*, in ſpeaking of the commerce and wealth of Ruſſia, ſaid many years ago, "Nothing can be more prejudicial to "this increaſe of wealth than foreign wars, by "which perhaps more hard money goes out of "the country than its mines and its commerce "produce. If, on the contrary, this yearly na-"tional profit were employed on the inner cultiva-"tion of the country, far greater benefit would "accrue, even for foreign commerce, than could "be obtained by the moſt brilliant conqueſts. "Ruſſia ſhould avoid all wars; and as, from her "ſituation as well as by her power, ſhe is ſafe "from all attacks from without, ſhe may eaſily "avoid them. Ruſſia ſhould, as little as poſſible, "take any concern in the foreign tranſactions and "commerce of the monarchs of Europe, and "direct the whole of her attention to the increaſe

* M. von Struenſee, in his "Account of the Commerce of the States of Europe," 1778, part i. p. 505.

" and extenſion of her internal improvement. And " though in that caſe it is probable that not ſo " much would be read in the foreign gazettes and " political publications about the ruſſian empire " as at preſent: yet, in return, the ruſſian ſubjects " would obtain a higher degree of proſperity and " happineſs."

But what did not Alexander do, that the idlers in Athens might have ſomething to ſay of him? In nearly the ſame manner Catharine ſeemed afraid that Europe might forget her, nay, that the name of her empire would be expunged from the catalogue of its ſtates. She even thought it neceſſary, in the firſt paragraph of the firſt chapter of her ſo frequently mentioned "Inſtruction," to make the declaration, "Ruſſia is an european power." Our quarter of the world had afterwards frequently occaſion enough to remember that ſhe was a party concerned in it.

Poland had particular reaſon to know it to her coſt: and Germany now felt her influence in a more beneficial manner. Peter III. as duke of Holſtein, was a prince of the empire. The Gottorp diviſion bordered on the german territories of the king of Denmark: a renewal of the ancient feuds between theſe two kindred houſes threatened to break out: and no plan for an accommodation for the future could ever be brought properly to ſucceed. Catharine at length removed the difficulty, and for her very trifling relationſhip in a truly exalted

alted manner. It likewiſe appeared to her, perhaps, unſuitable, that her ſon, now arrived to his majority, as heir to the imperial crown of Ruſſia, ſhould be at the ſame time an actual reigning prince in Germany*. In 1773, ſhe propoſed, in her ſon's name, an exchange with the houſe of Denmark, to which it readily agreed, whereby it was to receive the ducal portion† in return for the country of Oldenburg and Delmenhorſt in the circle of Weſtphalia. Theſe latter, therefore, fell to the grand duke; who directly ceded them, without compenſation, to the younger ſon of the Gottorp line, Frederic Auguſtus, biſhop of Lubek, by whoſe imbecil ſon, Peter Frederic William, they are now inherited. The two counties‡ are eſtimated at forty-five ſquare geographical miles, containing eighty-five thouſand inhabitants, and yielding an annual revenue of two hundred and thirty thouſand rixdollars: ſo diſintereſtedly did Catharine barter, ſo magnanimouſly did ſhe make preſents. The elder branch of the houſe of Holſtein-Gottorp therefore had no longer a ſeat among the princes of the german empire; but Catharine kept an ambaſſador at the diet of Ratiſbon, whoſe vote was certainly not without conſequence. The

* See the genealogical tables in the foregoing volume, tab. ii. p. 60.

† Compriſing the city of Kiel, &c.

‡ Converted into a dukedom by the emperor of Germany and the ſtates of the empire in 1776.

empreſs in 1779 ratified the peace of Teſchen concluded between Pruſſia and Auſtria under her guarantee; and more lately inſiſted on being regarded as guarantee of the peace of Weſtphalia; and ſpoke in a very high tone in the laſt diet againſt France.

Nor was the empreſs leſs attentive, at this time, to the public internal ſecurity of the reſidence, and other parts of the empire. Of all political inſtitutions and eſtabliſhments, nothing has a nearer relation to the comfort and ſatisfaction of each individual, than the police. The reſpectable aim of this part of the adminiſtration of government, ſecurity and conveniency, are aſſociated in the grand idea of civil happineſs, without which no political happineſs is to be conceived. The relations with foreign powers, the riches of the ſtate, nay, even political liberty, are far more remotely related to the happineſs of the individual, as they rather concern the whole body of the nation; while the functions of the police ralate exactly to thoſe duties which affect a man in his more delicate and tender connections, as a citizen, as a man of buſineſs, huſband, and father. There are countries in which the citizen, notwithſtanding the great weakneſs and inſignificancy of the body politic to which he belongs, or amid the moſt ſtriking infringements of political liberty, is happy, becauſe his civil ſecurity and liberty are guarded; as there are governments in which the greateſt national force and the completeſt

completeſt political organization cannot compenſate the individual citizen for the defect or the loſs of a well-regulated police.

Civil ſecurity muſt preſuppoſe civil liberty: otherwiſe it would produce tranquillity indeed; but it would be like the tranquillity of the grave, the conſequences of which are foulneſs and corruption.

The former is the reſult of combined and artfully-connected aims; whereas the latter is the effect of one ſimple maxim. In a word, ſecurity is forced from the executive power, liberty may be granted.

The ſtate of civil ſecurity in every government is an explained problem; the laws, and the means of obtaining it, are objects of public notoriety. The ſtate of civil liberty can, in ſuch countries as have not a peculiar conſtitution, only be known from the combination of a great many particular facts, from the ſpirit of the government, from the temper of the people.

In a country which has not the leaſt ſhadow of a conſtitution, in which all the complicate relations of a great civil ſociety are aſcertained by particular, explicable, frequently contradictory ordinances, and theſe left to the arbitrary interpretation of particular courts; in ſuch a country, perſonal and civil ſecurity can neither be enjoyed as a matter lawfully or aſſuredly eſtabliſhed. In this ſituation was Ruſſia, previous to the reign of Peter the great. The variety of the ordinances of this monarch, far

ſuperior

ſuperior to his contemporaries, ſhew that he was ſenſible of the want of a civil conſtitution, and the neceſſity of a perſonal ſecurity, ſettled and fixed by law. Much however as he did towards the attainment of this grand object, much ſtill remained for him to do. "A premature death obliged him to "abandon this ſalutary inſtitute, while yet in its "commencement. The frequent revolutions which "ſucceeded, the diverſity of principles and opini-"ons, the numerous wars that happened, though "they by no means weakened the power and au-"thority of the empire, yet ſubjected the regula-"tions of this great emperor either to alterations, "or to a difference in the proſecution of the idea "of the work he had begun, or to the introduction "of other rules, which partly took their direction "by particular notions of the matter, partly by the "alteration of circumſtances and the natural courſe "of things *."

At length the genius of Ruſſia threw the fate of this great empire into the hands of Catharine II. The comprehenſive mind of this monarch, which had already been occupied in the extenſion and eſtabliſhment of its external force, in laying the foundations of a philoſophical ſyſtem of legiſlation, in the improvement of education, in the diffuſion of illumination and taſte, and in the reformation

* The words of Catharine II. See the ukaſe of the 12th of November 1775, which ſerves as an introduction to the regulation of the adminiſtration of government.

of

of numberleſs abuſes, and which had not yet exhauſted its energy on theſe grand objects, now formed a conſtitution for Ruſſia *.

The collection of ordinances out of which this conſtitution aroſe, breathe throughout that liberal philoſophical ſpirit, that reverence for mankind and their rights, and that mild, benign temper, equally removed from ſeverity and compliance, which mark the character of the lawgiver, and is its moſt venerable ſanction.

The preſervation and advancement of perſonal ſecurity cannot be the laſt object in a law-book of this nature. It provides a peculiar tribunal in the court of conſcience or the court of equity, which is eſtabliſhed in every government of the empire, and which has for its aim, according to the proper words of the ordinance, the preſervation of perſonal ſecurity, the mitigation of the lot of unhappy criminals, and the equitable termination of all civil diſputes. The conſtitution of this highly remarkable inſtitute is too novel, too beneficial, and too

* The ſucceſſive conſtitutions by which Ruſſia obtained an equal and regular diſtribution into vice-royalties, a like civil form, like courts and tribunals, a police, a municipality, ſpecific rights and relations of the middle rank and the nobility; in a word, a conſtitution, are the following:—Ordinances for the adminiſtration of government throughout the ruſſian empire.—Imperial regulation for the mercantile navigation on rivers, lakes, and ſeas.—Of nobility.—Municipality.—Regulations of Police. They are tranſlated collectively into german by the court-counſellor Arndt.

little

little known, to render the omiſſion of a brief account of it pardonable in the preſent undertaking.

The court of conſcience conſiſts of a judge, who preſides, and of ſix members, of whom, every three years, two are elected from the claſs of burghers, and an equal number from the claſs of boors. Each rank has only to do with the accuſer and the accuſed of his rank. The court of conſcience pronounces, in general, according to the laws; but, as it is ordained to be a guard to particular or perſonal ſecurity, the rule preſcribed in all caſes is —general philanthropy, reſpect for man as ſuch, and averſion from all oppreſſion and injury of mankind. For theſe reaſons the court of conſcience muſt never add to the burdens of any man, but rather make it a duty conſcientiouſly to diſcuſs, and to decide with humanity, the cauſe before it. It muſt never meddle, of its own motion, in any matter, but take it up only from an order of the government, from the communication of another court of juſtice, or from petition and complaint. The caſes of ſuch criminals as, by ſome unhappy accident, or by the concurrence of various circumſtances, have fallen into guilt, whoſe ſufferings far outweigh their demerit, the crimes of thoughtleſsneſs or early age, and all ſtories of witchcraft and conjuration, ariſing from ſtupidity, impoſture, and ignorance, belong to this tribunal. The duty of it, in civil cauſes, is to adjuſt the differences of contending parties who appeal to it for that purpoſe,

poſe. The adjuſtment is to be made either by the court alone, or in conjunction with arbitrators, choſen by the two parties. If the arbitrators cannot agree together, then the court lays before them its opinion how the accuſer and the accuſed may be reconciled, without injury, without proceſs, controverſy, reciprocal reproach, and chicane. If the arbitrators cannot yet be brought to agreement, then the court orders the accuſer and accuſed to appear, and lays before them the means of accommodation. If they admit them, the court confirms their agreement with its ſeal of office: in the contrary caſe, it informs them that it has nothing farther to do with their diſpute, and that they may apply to the court appointed by law for that purpoſe.

The moſt important behoof of the court of conſcience, and by which it is in ſome meaſure the moſt venerable tribunal of the nation, and, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, the palladium of perſonal ſecurity, conſiſts in this: when any one delivers a petition to the court of conſcience, ſpecifying that he has been detained in priſon upwards of three days, and that in theſe three days it has not been ſhewn him why he is thus kept in priſon, or that in theſe three days he has not been interrogated, then the court of conſcience is bound, on receiving ſuch petition, and before the court breaks up, to iſſue an order, that the priſoner (if he be not impriſoned for offences againſt the perſon of the ſovereign, nor for treaſon,

ſon, murder, theft, or robbery) be brought into the court of conſcience, and be ſhewn, adding the reaſons, why he is detained in arreſt, or why he has not been interrogated. The order of the court of conſcience in this caſe muſt be executed in the place at which it arrives, without loſing an hour; but if the order be not fulfilled within the ſpace of twenty-four hours, the preſident of the court ſhall be fined in the penalty of five hundred rubles, and each of the aſſeſſors ſhall pay a fine of one hundred. In regard to local diſtance twenty-five verſts are reckoned to a day.—If the court of conſcience finds that the priſoner has not been detained for any of the crimes above ſpecified, it iſſues an order to ſet him at liberty, on the receipt of that voucher, as well for his being brought forth as alſo for his preſentation before that court of the province which he ſhall chooſe, and where his cauſe ſhall be adjudged. No one may pretend to put again in priſon him who has been liberated by authority of the court of conſcience, for their deciſion on the ſame matter: but his cauſe ſhall be determined by courſe of law. But in caſe the petitioner is in confinement on account of any of the before-mentioned crimes, or has impoſed upon the court of conſcience; or can bring no proof, the court of conſcience ſhall remand him to priſon, there to be kept more ſtrictly than before *.

* See Gemælde von St. Peterſburg, by the ingenious M. Heinrich Storch, for theſe and ſeveral other particulars.

Public

Public ſecurity differs from perſonal, in its having a more general aim. The former is properly the object of the police; the latter is, in moſt countries, committed to the adminiſtration of juſtice.

In proportion to the bulk, extent, and population of Peterſburg, the public ſecurity is as great as any where. Robberies and murder are ſo ſeldom heard of, that all thought of danger is entirely baniſhed. Accordingly, people walk alone, without any weapon or attendance, at all hours of the night, along the ſtreets, and even in the remoteſt, moſt unfrequented, and uninhabited parts of the town. This fact, extraordinary in ſuch circumſtances, is, however, not ſo much the conſequence of a well-organized and vigilant police, as the effect of the good-tempered national character. The common Ruſſian, if not corrupted by a long ſtay in the reſidence, ſeduced by the propenſion to drink, or preſſed by extreme want, is ſeldom diſpoſed to exceſſes of this nature. To this may be added a certain reverence towards the ſuperior ranks, which from the ſentiment of their vaſſalage, and from the way in which they are brought up, is peculiar to this people. This is ſo well known, that it is no uncommon thing to put an officer's cockade in the hat as a ſure means of defence againſt any attack a man might otherwiſe be liable to at ſuch times as the populace are accuſtomed to think they have the privilege of being intoxicated,

and

and consequently are more prone to commit acts of extravagance. An authoritative word, spoken in a commanding tone, has frequently more effect than the stoutest oaken staff. In order to employ this method with impression, it is necessary indeed to be able to speak the language with fluency; but any one who has this advantage, and is familiar with the manners and the character of the nation, may at any time, in cases of extremity, excite the good nature of the populace, and save his purse or his life from any hostile attack. Among several instances afforded by experience of this, one may suffice.

A lady some years ago travelled up the country. Her road led through a village which had lately got an ill name for robberies and murders, and indeed was become formidable to the whole district. By some unforeseen circumstances, her arrival at this place was delayed till the night was somewhat advanced; and as the post-boors absolutely refused to drive her any further, she was obliged to put up at a cottage. A conversation between her driver and some people of the village, which by favour of the darkness she happened to overhear, justly filled her with serious alarm. On entering the cottage, she perceived several fellows, according to the custom of the country, lying on the stove. An old woman, whose physiognomy was not exactly adapted to inspire confidence, accosted her with the question, why she had hesitated

to

to paſs the night in that village, whether it was becauſe ſhe ſuſpected that ſhe might not be ſafe in her houſe? and ſwore, at the ſame time, that there was not a man in it. The traveller, from long experience being well acquainted with the character of the nation, took care not to confute this lie; on the contrary, ſhe diſplayed the moſt perfect confidence, ſat down with the utmoſt compoſure to take ſome refreſhment, brought out a bottle of brandy from her caſe in the ſledge, called down the fellows that were lying on the ſtove, and divided its contents among them. This behaviour, the bottle of brandy, and the friendly looks of the donor, had their due effect: the ſlumbering but not ſtifled ſentiment of humanity awoke; and the good-natured, careleſs, and joyful humour, which is ſo peculiar to the common Ruſſians, ſoon broke out in noiſy ſongs. The traveller, ſeeing that ſhe had attained her aim, laid herſelf down to ſleep in an adjacent room, in all appearance without any diſtruſt, forbade her ſervants to bring the baggage and arms into the houſe, and even put out the light. At break of day ſhe found a ruſſian breakfaſt prepared, and her carriage ready for her farther progreſs. Her departure from this band of robbers was a moral caricature of a moſt ſingular nature. With the confeſſion of their criminal way of life, ſhe at the ſame time received from theſe people the aſſurance, that ſhe and all paſſengers that ſhould make uſe of her name, ſhould be well received,

and be lodged in ſafety: a promiſe which was accompanied with the rude but undiſguiſed teſtimony of a hearty affection.

The police of St. Peterſburg has a very ſimple and competent organization. Excepting the governor, whoſe office naturally extends to all objects of public welfare, the head police-maſter is the proper chief of the whole ſyſtem of police. His office takes in the great compaſs of this department, but confined to the general objects of public ſecurity and order. He is not here, as in ſome large towns, the formidable co-partner of family ſecrets, and the inviſible witneſs of the actions of the private man. Here are no ſpies, nor ought there to be, if Monteſquieu be in the right *.

Under the head police-maſter is the police-office, where ſit a police-maſter, two preſidents, the one for criminal, the other for civil caſes, and two conſultors choſen from the burgher claſs. To this is committed the care to maintain decorum, good order, and morals: alſo it is its buſineſs to ſee to the obſervance of the laws, that the orders iſſued by government, and the deciſions of the courts of juſtice, are put in force. The attainment of theſe purpoſes is effected by the following mechaniſm:

The reſidence is divided into ten departments. Each of theſe has a preſident, appointed to watch over the laws, the ſecurity, and the order of his

* "Faut-il des eſpions dans la monarchie? Ce n'eſt pas la "pratique des bons princes."—Eſprit des Loix, I. xii. chap. 25.

diſtrict.

diſtrict. The duties and rights of this office are not leſs extenſive than important. A preſident muſt have exact knowledge of the inhabitants of his department, over which a ſort of parental authority is committed to him; he is the *cenſor morum* of his department; his houſe muſt not be bolted or barred by night or day, but muſt be a place of refuge continually open to all that are in danger or diſtreſs; he himſelf may not quit the town for the ſpace of two hours, without committing the diſcharge of his office to ſome other perſon. The police-commando (conſtables), and the watchmen of his department, are under his orders; and he is attended on all affairs of his office by two ſerjeants. Complaints againſt unjuſt behaviour in the preſidents may be brought to the police-office.

Each department is again divided into three, four, or five ſubdiviſions, called quarters, of which, in the whole reſidence, are two and forty. Each of theſe has a quarter-inſpector, in ſubordination to whom is a quarter-lieutenant. The duty of theſe police-officers is in harmony with that of the preſident, only that their activity is confined to a ſmaller circle. They ſettle low affairs and ſlight altercations on the ſpot, and keep a watchful eye on all that paſſes.

The number of the nightly watch in the city amounts to five hundred. They have their ſtations aſſigned them in watch-houſes at the corners of

ſtreets; and, beſides their proper deſtination, are to aſſiſt in the taking up of offenders and in any ſervice by day or night, as their commanders ſhall require. Beſides theſe, for the execution of the police orders, and to act as patroles, there is alſo a commando of one hundred and twenty men, who, in caſes of emergency, are ſupported by a pulk or company of kozaks, or a regiment of huſſars.

This machine, conſiſting of ſo many ſubordinate parts, preſerves in its orderly courſe that ſecurity and peace which excite the admiration of all foreigners. The activity of every individual member is unobſerved in the operation of the whole; and by ſuch a diſtribution alone is the attainment of ſo complicated an aim practicable.—All the quarter-inſpectors of a department repair every morning, at ſeven o'clock, to their inſpector's houſe, to lay before him the report of all that has happened in their quarters during the laſt four and twenty hours; and at eight o'clock all the inſpectors bring together theſe ſeveral reports into the police office, whereupon they firſt and immediately take into examination the caſes of perſons taken into cuſtody during the night. On urgent occaſions the police-office aſſembles at all hours.

This organization, and the extraordinary vigilance of the police, which is found competent to the buſineſs of a numerous and reſtleſs people, render all ſecret inquiſitions unneceſſary. The police has knowledge of all perſons in the reſi-

dence;

dence; travellers who come and go are ſubject to certain formalities, which render it extremely difficult to conceal their place of abode, or their departure from the city. To this end, every houſeholder and innkeeper is obliged to declare to the police who lodges with him, or what ſtrangers have put up at his houſe. If a ſtranger or lodger ſtays out all night, the landlord muſt inform the police of it at lateſt on the third day of his abſence from his houſe. The cautionary rules with regard to travellers quitting the town, are ſtill more ſtrict. Theſe muſt publiſh in the news-paper their name, their quality, and their place of abode, three ſeveral times, and produce the news-papers containing the advertiſement, as a credential in the government from which they then receive their paſſport, without which it is next to impoſſible to get out of the empire. This regulation not only ſecures the creditor of the perſon about to depart, but alſo enables the police to keep a cloſer inſpection over all ſuſpected inhabitants.

The great mixture of foreign inhabitants of all nations renders this inſpection at all times, but eſpecially at certain critical periods, highly neceſſary. There are always, in large populous towns, diſorderly people, adventurers and impoſtors, who, by bold projects, by an infamous induſtry, or by criminal ſtratagems and tricks, ſeek occaſion to diſturb the quiet of civil ſociety, or to rifle the purſes of the public. The lenity of the government, the

hoſpitable reception every honeſt ſtranger here enjoys, the eaſy and various means of gaining a livelihood, and the unlimited permiſſion attended with ſo many difficulties in other countries, of purſuing them in a lawful way, without diſtinction of nation or religious profeſſion ;—all theſe and other advantages are, however, not always ſufficient to reſtrain ſuch people within the bounds of propriety and decorum.

If individuals may be ſuſpected by the government, becauſe their means of ſupport, the company they keep, and their whole courſe of action, are cloſely wrapped up in myſtery, ſo likewiſe may whole ſocieties be leſs indifferent to it, if they carefully conceal the object of their connection, or their very exiſtence, from the eye of the public. The police watches here, with laudable attention, over ſecret ſocieties of all kinds ; and frequently as the fanatical ſpirit of religious or political ſectaries, or the enthuſiaſm of pretended myſtagogues, have attempted to neſtle here, they have never been able to proceed, or only for a very ſhort time. Animal magnetiſm, Martiniſm, Roſycrutianiſm, and by whatever other name the conceits of diſtempered imaginations may be called, have always been attended with the ſame bad ſucceſs on this ſtage.

With equal diligence the police ranſacks the blind purlieus of ſuch as have an averſion to honeſt induſtry, and are attracted by the thirſt of gain. If the ramparts of civil liberty prevent the police

from having recourſe to extreme meaſures for quelling the rage of gaming, yet great difficulties and obſtacles are oppoſed to the propagation and extenſion of this dreadful political evil. By the police regulation only ſuch games are allowed as require bodily exertion and dexterity, or conſiſt of a due proportion of hazard and ſkill. The nicer explanations on this latter are reſerved for the laws. Concerning prohibited games, the police muſt have regard to the motives of the gameſters. All complaints and demands relative to the play-debts, and the payment of them, are declared null. That no lotteries are permitted thoughout the whole ruſſian empire is well known.

From this ſketch it will be readily imagined, that the number of impoſtors and diſturbers of the public peace can be but ſmall. Quarrels and affrays in the ſtreet or in the kabaks but ſeldom happen. The perſon attacked calls the neareſt watchman; and in a moment both the aggreſſor and the aggrieved are taken into cuſtody, and led to the next ſieja, (police watch-houſe,) where the cauſe of their quarrel is inquired into, and the aggreſſor is puniſhed. For matters of ſome deſcriptions, there is a peculiar tribunal, under the denomination of the oral court, which, on account of its ſingularity, deſerves to be briefly noticed.

In each quarter of the town are one or more judges of the oral court, who are choſen from the claſs of burghers, and with whom are aſſociated a

jurats. This court ſits daily in the forenoon, and proceeds orally in all the differences that come before it: it, however, keeps a day-book, in which are entered all the cauſes and deciſions of the court, and which muſt be every week laid before the magiſtrate. When a charge it brought, the court declares it orally to the preſident of the quarter: whereupon the accuſed muſt not delay his appearance before the police longer than one day after he has received the ſummons. Every cauſe muſt be determined in one day, or if the evidences require more time in collecting, in three days. The oral court communicates the deciſion to the preſident of the quarter by means of his day-book, in order to its ratification. If either party be not ſatisfied with the ſentence, he may appeal to the court as appointed in the regulations.

The immenſe circulation occaſion by the neceſſaries and luxuries of the reſidence might provide a greater number of the people with the means of ſubſiſtence. The growing increaſe of the town, and the great undertakings of the government, which here unite as in one large central point, employ as many hands as are to be had, and would employ more; the facility, therefore, with which work is to be found, and the high price of labour, leave idleneſs and indigence without excuſe. And indeed no beggars are ſeen here, unleſs one ſhould give that name to a few children who here and there run about, and aſk for a

poluſhka. Old, infirm diſtempered people, and ſimilar objects of diſguſt, are abſolutely not permitted to follow begging. For the really poor, and perſons incapable of earning their bread, a poor-houſe is provided, and maintained upon an excellent plan; but for the induſtrious who look out for work, and the idlers that are able to work, the following uſeful and ſalutary regulations are made:

In purſuance of the police ordinance of the year 1782, ſervant-brokers (or, as we ſhould ſay, regiſter-offices,) are appointed, where every day, at certain hours, people who ſeek ſervice or work, as well as maſters who want ſervants, may apply. The broker is bound to enter into his book the name, the time, and the requiſites or propoſals of the ſeveral perſons who apply, as alſo the terms of the contract; which book is taken as evidence in caſe diſputes ſhould afterwards ariſe. In order to induce the public to benefit by this inſtitution of ſuch general utility, it is at the ſame time ordained, that the oral court and the police-officer ſhall admit of no complaint between maſter and ſervant, if the contract cannot be produced in the broker-book; but ſervants and workmen who neglect to apply to the broker, are driven out of the town and the diſtrict.

The work-houſe of the reſidence takes in not only ſuch people as would willingly work, and find no employment, but is chiefly filled with idlers, vagrants, diſorderly perſons, ſturdy beggars, and thieves who have not ſtolen above the value of twenty

twenty rubles. As ſuch a conjunction of crimes with helpleſs induſtry is contrary to the maxims of an enlightened police, ſo this inſtitution, according to its original deſtination, was dedicated only to the latter. But becauſe, either from prejudices formed againſt the inſtitution, or becauſe, as it is moſt reaſonable to think, there is a ſuperfluity of means of livelihood, but very few ſuch perſons are found, this inſtitution is almoſt entirely confined to forced workmen. The ſuperintendance of it belongs to the college of general proviſion, who, therefore, ſettle the mode and meaſure of employment according to the ſex, the age, and the bodily frame of each. It is likewiſe permitted to private perſons to ſend their ſervants hither for puniſhment; in this caſe, however, they muſt pay three kopecks a day for each perſon's board, in addition to the profit on their labour, to the inſtitution. On an average about eight hundred perſons are kept here annually. A ſmall hoſpital, connected with this inſtitution, had, on the 1ſt of January 1790, one hundred and ſeven patients of both ſexes.

For criminals condemned to labour by the laws, there is a houſe of correction. This is likewiſe under the management of the college of general proviſion, which endeavours to make the penal labour of theſe people, particularly in regard to manufacturers, uſeful to the ſtate. In purſuance of an ordinance of government the houſe of correction is deſtined for the following deſcriptions of civil and moral

moral offenders; for children who are disobedient to their parents, or habitually pursue bad courses; for people who, having run out their circumstances, have contracted twice as many debts as they have the means to pay, or are guilty of scandalous breaches of decorum; for persons who publicly follow a course of life which is contrary to sound morals, and the regulations of a good police; for worthless and lazy rogues and vagabonds; for stout and obstinate vagrants and beggars; lastly, for women who lead a scandalous, impudent, and profligate life.—Offenders of these kinds are put into the house of correction, either in pursuance of the sentence of a court of judicature, or at the request of parents, presidents, or masters, though not without evidence wherefore. Here also private persons must pay a slight allowance, as in the work-house. The men are separated from the women; and all the people confined must be called only by their christian names. The obstinate and refractory may be chastised, by order of the head overseer, by beating, or punished by being shut up and kept on bread and water. The annual number of persons under correction here is between seven and nine hundred.

These institutions, into which the residence discharges all its sluggish, foul, and infectious parts, as into a receiver, stand in so close a connection with the prisons of the courts of judicature, that it would

would render this account incomplete, to omit the mention of them here.

The new town-jail, which, as far as practicable, is conſtructed and diſpoſed upon Mr. Howard's plan*, conſiſts of a large ſtrong-built pentagon edifice, of two ſtories. Outwardly it has no windows, and only one gate, which is of iron; each of the five angles is terminated by a tower, which riſes above the roof, and ſerves as a magazine. Each ſtory has only one ſuite of chambers, all opening into a covered gallery. The rooms are diſſimilar in ſize, but are fitted up in exactly the ſame manner. The windows are all placed high; each cell is provided with a cubic ſtove, a ſmall table and ſeat of maſonry, an iron outer door, and in the wall a water-cloſet. In the open place which forms the area of the building, is a ſmaller

* While Mr. John Howard was at St. Peterſburg, the empreſs expreſſed a ſtrong deſire of having ſome converſation with him on the very intereſting ſubjects to which he gave up his time and attention. Knowing how averſe that gentleman was to forms and ceremonies, and eſpecially to the pomps and etiquette of a court, ſhe commiſſioned a perſon to hint to him, that if he would amuſe himſelf on a certain day in looking at the paintings and other curioſites of the hermitage, her majeſty would be there at the time, and would profit by the meeting for entering into converſation with ſo extraordinary and deſerving a man. To the friend who communicated this to Mr. Howard, he replied: "Tell her that I am not come here to viſit palaces but priſons." In conſequence of which, that princeſs had never the opportunity of ſeeing him.

priſon

priſon of the ſame ſhape with the larger, which, with cells of a like conſtruction with the others, contains a chapel, a comptoir, a guard-houſe, and a chamber of correction. The remaining ſpace, in breadth about ſix fathom, is left for indulging the priſoners in the benefit of taking the air. The whole building has hitherto continued quite empty.

Of the other jails, which are only three, that of the police is the moſt remarkable. This houſe, which is commonly called the Politzey, becauſe here the chancery of it was formerly held, is at preſent the principal place of detention for all delinquents that come within the cognizance of the police. Accordingly, here are kept, previous to their trial, fraudulent inſolvents and bankrupts, ſwindlers, gameſters, bullies, cheats, thieves, and fanatics of all chriſtian ſects, and of all nations in motley mixture. This ſtrange collection of beings is productive of no leſs ſingular effects. The rich purchaſe accommodations of the poor; the cunning over-reach the ſimple: ſeparated from all human ſociety, a ſort of petty republic is formed within theſe walls, in which the two grand levers of human activity, indigence and paſſion, play their part as well as without them. Thus, a few years ago, an inhabitant of this manſion picked up money by the myſteries of an order of which he was a member, by admitting, for a ſmall reception-fee, a conſiderable number of worthy proſelytes. Another had been favoured with the permiſſion to

ſeparate

ſeparate his ſleeping place by a ſcreen, where he lived in company with his ſerfs, who, by the duties of their vaſſalage, were obliged to follow him into this abode. Here he gave a friendly reception to all comers, whoſe looks and dreſs ſeemed promiſing, and drew from them what money they had, either at cards, or by giving them a goblet or two of ſtrong punch, with ſuch artifice that never any got out of his clutches without leaving behind them, in his lurking corner, whatever they had, and ſometimes even a part of their clothes.—This houſe, which ſeems to harbour within its walls only vice and criminality, at times alſo exhibits ſome noble inſtance of human action, as a few ſcattered rays are ſeen to mingle in the gloomy colours of a painted night-piece. Not for the purpoſe of relieving the ſhades, but as a ſmall memorial of an unknown generous action, the following anecdote may here be permitted to find a place.

A young german nobleman, who had for a long time indulged himſelf in the uſual follies of his age, with the utmoſt thoughtleſſneſs and extravagance, was put into the politzey by his creditors. In this deplorable ſituation, abandoned by all his former acquaintance, a damſel of the common claſs, who had ſhared his purſe in better days, remained true to him. She followed him to priſon, waited on him with unwearied aſſiduity and care during a violent illneſs with which he was attacked,

ſupplied

ſupplied him with all kinds of neceſſaries, ſold, when all her money was gone, what furniture and clothes ſhe had, and at length went about begging for her unfortunate friend. At the end of eleven months, when he was releaſed by death from this unhappy condition, ſhe cauſed him to be decently interred with the remainder of the alms ſhe had procured, and then—conſented to the offer of marriage long ago made her by a man in good circumſtances, with whom ſhe might have enjoyed the conveniences and pleaſures of life, and which ſhe had hitherto refuſed only becauſe ſhe thought it diſhonourable to forſake her firſt lover in his diſtreſs. This circumſtance ſhe mentioned to her huſband previous to their marriage.

Great as the ſecurity of the city is in regard to acts of open violence, yet it is neceſſary for every one to be upon his guard againſt artful impoſtures and deep-laid ſtratagems. The frequent inſtances of this kind make every Ruſſian wary, and therefore they are not ſo eaſily made the dupes of their countrymen; but ſo much the more do they make up for this at the expence of ſtrangers and foreigners, particularly when they are not acquainted with the language of the country. The ſhopkeepers and merchants commonly aſk three times, and frequently even five times as much as the commodity is worth; the unknown offer the half, and think they have made a good bargain, till they find, when too late, that they have been miſerably

miſerably cheated. To give damaged goods a fair appearance, to defraud in meaſure and weight in an imperceptible manner, to ſlip bad goods among the better that have been bought and ordered home; all theſe, and a multitude of other tricks, no dealers in the world underſtand better than the ruffian. As the Ruffians in general are ſurpriſingly cunning and of quick parts, they are eminently addicted to this ſpecies of induſtry; and the pickpockets of St. Peterſburg and Moſco may ſafely lay wagers on their dexterity with thoſe of London and Paris.

Some time ſince the following affair happened at Moſco, which excited great curioſity both there and at the reſidence; and, on account of its originality, deſerves to be noticed while we are on this ſubject. A wealthy nobleman, well known as a fancier of precious ſtones, fell accidentally in company with a perſon unknown to him, who wore on his finger a ring of great beauty and value. After a long diſcourſe on its real worth, the nobleman offered him a conſiderable price for it, which the ſtranger at firſt refuſed, on the reaſonable ground that he had no deſire to part with it. At length, however, to evade the repeated importunities of the nobleman, he declared that he could not ſell it, becauſe—the ſtones were not genuine. This declaration filled all the company, among whom were connoiſſeurs, with amazement. The nobleman, in order to be ſure of the matter

matter desired to have the ring for a few days against sufficient security, received it, and ran from one jeweller to another, who all unanimously pronounced the stones to be genuine, and of great value. With this assurance, and the hope of a good bargain, he brought back the ring to its owner, who, on receiving it, put it, with great indifference, into his waistcoat pocket. The negotiation now began afresh: the stranger persisted in his resolution, till at length the nobleman offered a sum which was pretty near the true value of it. "This ring," returned the stranger, "is a "token of friendship; but I am not rich enough "to reject so large a sum as you offer for it. "Yet this high offer is the very reason of my not "complying. How can you, if you are thoroughly "conscious of what you are doing, offer so much "money for a ring, which the owner himself con-"fesses to be made up of false stones?"—"If "your determination depends only on that," replied the buyer, "here take at once the sum," (laying it in bank-notes upon the table) "and I "call the gentlemen here present to witness, that "I voluntarily, and after due consideration, pay "it." The seller took the money, and gave the nobleman the ring, repeating the declaration, that the stones were false, and that it was still time to make the bargain void. The latter obstinately refused to hearken to his advice, hastened joyfully home, and found—what the reader has already

gueſſed—that the ſtranger had ſaid what was too true. Inſtead of the genuine ring, he had a falſe one made exactly like the other. The affair was brought into a court of juſtice; but, as the ſeller proved, that during the whole buſineſs there was no queſtion at all about genuine ſtones; that the purchaſer expreſsly treated only for a falſe ring, and he on the other hand ſold him only a falſe ring; accordingly the judge was obliged to pronounce in favour of the latter.

The arts of cheating in the article of proviſions are no where better underſtood than here. Ordinary deceptions of this nature happen every where; but when one looks at a fowl, which to all appearance is finely fattened, and finds it only filled with wind; or aſparagus, deprived of their eatable part, pointed again; and coloured with a tempting verdure; no man will call theſe ordinary tricks.

A lady who had not been long come out of Germany, and had heard much from her acquaintance at Peterſburg of the many artifices of that nature practiſed in that city, took the reſolution to uſe the utmoſt caution in all her dealings, in order to refute the common opinion, that every ſtranger muſt buy his wiſdom. Several days paſſed on: one morning, however, a raſnoſchtſchik* entered her apartment, and offered her a pound of tea, the laſt remains of what he had to ſell. She weighed the

* Raſnoſchtſchiks are venders of ſmall articles about the ſtreets.

parcel,

parcel, and found it juſt: ſhe made a trial; the tea was unadulterated, and well flavoured: ſhe ſhook it all out into a baſin; no deceit was diſcoverable. She inquired the price, and offered a third part of what he aſked: the vender was naturally not ſatisfied with this offer; he turned the tea back again into the box, wrapped a cloth about it, and crammed it into his boſom. At length the bargain was ſtruck, and the commodity delivered; however, prudence does no harm; the lady opened the box, and ſaw the tea ſhe had bought. She ſhut it up, to the great joy of the ſeller, who in the mean time had aſked her, ſmiling, why ſhe was ſo extremely cautious, and why ſhe had ſo very bad an opinion of his honeſty? The money was paid; the raſnoſchtſchik went his way; and ſome days after the box was found full of ſand and grains, except the ſurface, which was really good tea.

Matters of this kind are frequent in all great towns, where the numerous population renders every detection more difficult, and the diſtance and difference between the circumſtances of fortune rouſe the paſſions, and urge the human intellect to every ſpecies of induſtry. The height of civilization and refinement, as well as the extreme of immorality and corruption, are only to be looked for in towns of the firſt magnitude. The means to prevent theſe evils are not in the hands of the police; no human invention can hinder an effect where the cauſe is natural; and to remove

this, we muſt follow the plan of the philoſophers, who baniſh the human race into foreſts and mountains, where the greateſt integrity reſides with the greateſt brutality.

The public ſecurity is not only brought into jeopardy by human attacks of fraud and violence: Nature alſo ſeems at times to have conſpired againſt it. The reſults of the grand, eternal, and beneficent laws, by which ſhe acts upon the whole, are nevertheleſs very frequently deſtructive to the parts; and man, by an inexplicable decree, is obliged to arm himſelf, as againſt an aſſaſſin, even againſt Nature, from whoſe hand he receives his being, his ſupport, and his enjoyments. The natural and accidental violations of public ſecurity are therefore not leſs an important object of police. An accurate detail of all the particular inſtitutions to this end would lie beyond the limits of this work. The following inſtance, drawn from the whole, will ſuffice as a characteriſtic of this department of the police of St. Peterſburg.

That city, from its ſituation at the mouth of a large navigable river, is very often expoſed to inundations. On a continuance of weſterly winds the water riſes to the height of ten feet above its ordinary level. At five feet it overflows only the weſtern parts of the town, in places where the Neva has no rampart; but on a ſwell of the water to ten feet, only the eaſternmoſt parts eſcape a general inundation. In the year 1777, on Sunday the

10th

10th of September, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, the water roſe to the height of ten feet ſeven inches above its uſual level; and though in two hours afterwards it had again retired within its banks, yet this ſhort inundation produced very extraordinary effects. A ſhip from Lubeck was carried into the wood on Vaſſili-oſtrof; the ducheſs of Kingſton's famous yacht, which ſhe had quitted a few days before, was caſt upon the bar, and greatly damaged; many wooden houſes were waſhed away; and ſeveral perſons had loſt their lives during the obſcurity of the night.

Since this remarkable inundation proper meaſures of prudence and caution have been adopted. For ſeveral years the height of the water had been regularly marked at the caſtle. Now, at all riſings of the river, ſignals were appointed at the admiralty, as a warning to the inhabitants. Whenever it ariſes above its banks at the mouth of the great Neva, notice is given to the town by three diſtinct firings of a cannon, which are repeated at intervals, as the danger increaſes. Within the town, in this caſe, five cannons are fired from the admiralty-battery, and on the ſteeple of it by day four white flags are diſplayed, and by night four lanterns are hung out; and at the ſame time the church-bells are ſlowly tolled. In places moſt expoſed to the inundation, veſſels are kept in readineſs for ſaving the people. Theſe regulations, the increaſing buildings, the embanking, and the mag-

nificent ſtone quay of the Neva, and the extenſion of the water-ſurface by the various canals, render theſe weſtern gales leſs alarming to the inhabitants of St. Peterſburg; ſo that a ſwell of five feet above the level now excites but little or even no attention.

Alſo the danger of depredation by fires is no longer ſo great as formerly, as the number of wooden houſes viſibly diminiſhes; and the regulations for extinguiſhing the fires and the ſaving of property are better and more complete. For this purpoſe the police keeps in its pay ten fire-maſters and one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-two men, who are employed ſolely to this object. Calamities of this nature are at preſent but ſeldom heard of; and when they happen, it is commonly in the outlying parts of the town, where the houſes are moſtly of timber, and very old. During the laſt ſeven years, in the better ſtreets, never more than one houſe is burnt down, and even this is generally of wood. The people of the police are become ſo dexterous, that at one of the laſt accidents to which the author was a witneſs, a ſmall wooden houſe that ſtood contiguous to the one on fire, was ſo perfectly preſerved, that it received not the ſlighteſt damage. At the imperial loan bank, is an inſurance-office, where one and a half *per cent.* is paid on three fourths of the annual rate at which the houſe or fabric is taxed.

Though quick driving along the ſtreets is forbidden, yet from various cauſes it is impoſſible entirely

entirely to prevent it; and, for the following reaſons, it is no where attended with leſs danger than at St. Peterſburg. All the ſtreets are broad and ſpacious: their running in ſtraight lines enables the driver to ſee a long way before him; in many of the ſtreets is a raiſed footway, which ſecures the pedeſtrian from danger. Beſides, the Ruſſians are excellent coachmen; and, as they are anſwerable for every accident occaſioned by their negligence or want of ſkill, they not only call out to the foot-paſſengers, while at ſome diſtance, but even turn off in caſes of neceſſity. The manner of their calling too is almoſt always appropriate: for example, "Old gentleman! Good mother! Soldier! Fiſh-crier!" &c. Not only here, but throughout all Ruſſia, it is the univerſal cuſtom, in driving, to keep the right ſide of the way; hence the perpetual cry in the ſtreets: "Na prava!" *i. e.* "To "the right!" Whoever goes contrary to this cuſtom, is in danger of being chaſtiſed on the ſpot, or at leaſt of receiving a volley of abuſe.

On all occaſions when a great number of people or equipages are collected together, the police-officers muſt be preſent, who, by the aſſiſtance of ſoldiers or kozaks on horſeback, keep ſuch good order, that one ſeldom or never hears of an accident. At the theatres, at court, at the clubs, eſpecially at the entertainments given at the palaces and at promenades on certain feſtivals, there are frequently ſeveral thouſands of carriages and an

immenſe multitude of people on foot: the former obſerve exactly certain rules preſcribed, and the latter may be preſent without the leaſt danger, even from the tumultuous rabble. He muſt indeed be a very partial obſerver, who does not take notice of this extraordinary vigilance and caution, which is always admired by foreigners. At every entertainment, every public dinner in the town, on every occaſion where the number of carriages is ſomewhat conſiderable, the police-officers are immediately there, for the preſervation of order and the prevention of accidents. On the bridges acroſs the Neva ſome of them are conſtantly preſent, as there the throng of paſſengers is uncommonly great. The ſame care is taken concerning dangerous ſcaffolds at buildings and at the diverſions of the populace. The ice-hills and other national ſports would certainly coſt many people their lives, were it not for theſe good regulations, by which, however, accidents cannot at all times be prevented; and therefore the government is gradually endeavouring to aboliſh them by limiting the period of their duration. The freezing and breaking up of the ice of the Neva may be dangerous to the public ſecurity; therefore, on theſe occaſions too, the proper cautionary regulations are not forgotten. As ſoon as the ice begins to be porous and unſafe, care is taken to break it near the ſhores, to prevent paſſengers from getting upon it; and notices are ſtruck upon poſts for the ſame purpoſe. Beſides

theſe

theſe precautions, the ſoldiers of the police are at theſe times continually preſent, who are frequently obliged to reſtrain by force the fool-hardy populace from venturing their lives for a trifling wager. The writer of this account was himſelf an eye-witneſs of ſuch a man, at the moſt imminent hazard of his life, walking over the porous, deep-grey coloured ice of the river, which is as broad as the Thames at London-bridge, by means of a couple of boards which he took with him, laying the one at the end of the other alternately as he paſſed over them, often ſparing himſelf this trouble, on feeling that a piece of the ice would juſt bear his weight without it. In this manner, in the preſence of hundreds of ſpectators, he was got near the oppoſite ſhore, when a police-officer ſtanding there, ſeeing him coming, held up his ſtick, threatening to give him a hearty welcome with it on his reaching the land. The apprehenſion of this ſlight chaſtiſement outweighed the fear for his life; he forgot the precaution he had before obſerved, his boards and his danger; haſtened back as faſt as he could, and ſafely regained the other ſhore.

The making up and the ſending out of medicines from the ſhops of the apothecaries by careleſs or wicked ſervants may ſo eaſily give occaſion to dreadful misfortunes or crimes, that particular prudential regulations are thought neceſſary in this reſpect here. Every recipè muſt not only be ſigned with the name of the phyſician who preſcribes it,

but muſt alſo mention the patient for whom it is preſcribed, with the day of the month and the year. To the medicine a label is affixed, mentioning, beſides this date, the price of the medicine, and the name of the apothecary and his ſhop. But the beſt regulation is, that each, even the moſt ſimple medicine muſt be ſealed. All phyſicians, ſurgeons, and midwives, who intend to practiſe in the ruſſian empire, muſt undergo an examination at the college of medicine, which then grants them a licence; and this licence muſt be publiſhed in the gazette.

Her majeſty's care for the public ſecurity extended alſo to the paſſing of laws and regulations for the prevention of dangerous and contagious diſeaſes, to the inſpection of damaged proviſions, and a multitude of ordinances of like nature; but moſt of them ſo much reſemble what are met with in other countries, that it would be needleſs to give a particular account of them. This ſubject then may properly be concluded by noticing one of the moſt important and intereſting of all the regulations that belong to the general ſyſtem of police.

The reader will recollect, that the publication and enforcement of the decrees of the ſovereign, according to the before-mentioned inſtruction, is one of the primary duties of the police-office. For the exerciſe of it the following remarkable form was preſcribed by Catharine II. Whenever a law, promulgated by the autocratic authority, and ſubſcribed by her imperial majeſty's own hand, or an ordinance

dinance from the places conſtituted for that purpoſe, is ſent to the police-office, it muſt be entered in the proper books, when, whence, and how it received this law. If it be ſent for publication, then the crown-advocate of the police-office is to be called, and his legal opinion taken: if there appear any doubtful point, it muſt be repreſented in the place appointed; but if no doubt ariſe, then a reſolution muſt be made concerning its publication. This done, the law muſt firſt be read in the aſſembly of the members of the police-office, then with open doors at the preſident of the quarter's houſe, and at the quarter-inſpector's; and in this method the publication is performed.

The foregoing facts will probably be ſufficient for giving ſome adequate notion of the ſtate of the police in the reſidence, which, for the form and method, is the ſame in all the towns throughout the empire; and, at the ſame time, will ſerve to ſhew the ſpirit which actuated the inſtitutions for which the empire is indebted to Catharine II.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Potemkin becomes favourite.—His exile.—His recall.—Manner of inſtalling and diſmiſſing favourites.—Journey to Moſco.—Pilgrimage.—Potemkin ſtrives to induce the empreſs to marry him.—Marſhal Romantzof comes to Moſco.—Regulations and edicts for the adminiſtration of the empire.—The Ruſſians enter the Krimea.—Election of khan Sahin Gueray.—Zavodoffsky becomes favourite.—Death of the grand duke's firſt conſort.—Second journey of prince Henry of Pruſſia to St. Peterſburg.—Journey of the grand duke to Berlin.—His ſecond marriage.—Zoritch obtains the place of favourite.—Tranſactions of the years 1774, 1775, 1776.

GREGORY ORLOF had been reinſtated in the place of favourite only from motives of policy. Policy may feign a paſſion, but cannot command it. Catharine affected to have for her former lover ſentiments which ſhe no longer felt. She was laviſh of her flatteries and kindneſſes, but ſhe could not reſtore him the poſſeſſion of her heart. The prince was therefore miſtaken in imagining himſelf to be the ſole cauſe of the diſmiſſion of Vaſſiltſchikof. It was not to him that this ſacrifice was made.

For

For a long time paſt the empreſs had remarked the manly comelineſs and noble air of Potemkin. She recollected with complacency, that on the day of the revolution of 1762, Potemkin being as yet very young, had ſeized the moment when ſhe had mounted her horſe for gallantly riding up to her, and preſenting her with the plume from his hat*. She reſolved at length to be more particularly acquainted with him; and the firſt interview ſhe had with him ſecured to this new lover the ſuperiority over all his rivals. Vaſſiltſchikof received his diſmiſſal; Orlof was retaken into favour; but the incorrigible coarſeneſs of his manners, formerly palliated by the warmth of his attachment, became unſufferable, when united with decayed affection. Potemkin alone had the ſecret of conſoling her majeſty under the uneaſineſſes occaſioned by the war, the apprehenſions from the rebellion, and the miſunderſtanding which prevailed between the old favourite and the miniſter Panin. Potemkin grew giddy with ſucceſs; his pride and preſumption kept pace with his proſperity; and he ſoon received a check.

One day, as he was playing at billiards with count Alexius Orlof, he was ſo thoughtleſs as to boaſt of the favour he enjoyed; and even ventured to aſſert, that it entirely depended on him to

* Whether it was his ſultane, the upright plume in his hat, or his cockade, dragonne, or ſword-knot, is immaterial to the main fact: it was, however, one or other of them.

remove

remove from court any perſons for whom he might conceive a diſlike. Alexius Orlof made him a haughty anſwer; a quarrel enſued; and Potemkin received a blow, which occaſioned him the loſs of an eye. This was not his only misfortune. Gregory Orlof, informed of the affair by his brother, ran to the empreſs and requeſted of her the removal of Potemkin.

Potemkin repaired to Smolenſk*, his native place, where he remained almoſt a year in ſolitude, ſuffering much from his eye†, and from vexation at his being exiled from court. One while he declared it his reſolution to turn monk; at another time he pretended that he would become the greateſt man in all Ruſſia. In ſhort, all at once he wrote to the empreſs, beſeeching her to think of him. Her majeſty immediately ſent him letters of recall, and replaced him in the full poſſeſſion of her favour. Prince Orlof had been for ſeveral days

* Prince Potemkin was born in the environs of Smolenſk, of a family originally from Poland. It ſettled in Ruſſia, and was always compriſed among the ancient nobleſſe of that empire. A Potemkin, who is thought to have been brother to the grandfather of the prince, was for ſome time at the court of England in quality of envoy from Peter I. But hiſtory ſays nothing more of him, and he is the only one of the name upon record before the favourite.

† It has been ſaid that he might have been cured of the injury he had received in his eye, but that, in his impatience, he burſt a ſlight tumour that had formed cloſe to the ball, and deprived himſelf of the ſight of it.

at his hunting-ſeat; and this abſence gave opportunity for inſtalling Potemkin at the palace; and on the return of the old favourite, his complaints and his reproaches were no impediment to the continuance of the new one.

The poſt of favourite being peculiar to Ruſſia, it will naturally be expected that it ſhould here be treated of ſomewhat more at large. Ever ſince the year 1730, this empire has been governed by women, the reign of Peter III. having been too ſhort to form any ſtriking exception, or for giving the Ruſſians a notion of any other government. It is a trite remark, that when kings reign women rule, and when women reign men govern: but there ſeems nothing more in this pretended axiom than an antitheſis conſecrated by cuſtom, and repeated from one to the other, like many more, without reflection or foundation. Henry IV. Guſtavus III. Catharine II. are invincible proofs that both men and women are capable of grand undertakings, without the aid of the other ſex, not to mention more examples in confirmation of the fact. For a ſeries of ſeventy years the monarchs of Ruſſia have always had favourites officially: it is no wonder then that the cuſtom, thus ſanctioned for ſo long a period, and ſcrupulouſly obſerved by four empreſſes, ſhould be almoſt deemed a fundamental law of the empire, and an appendage to imperial grandeur; for the age of the late ſovereign latterly gave no room to think that ſhe kept hers for any other

other purpoſe than in conformity to eſtabliſhed uſage, and as a property to the magnificence of the court. As the reign of that princeſs was of a longer duration than that of any of the empreſſes her predeceſſors, it is highly natural that the number of her favourites ſhould be more conſiderable; accordingly, ſome of them are ſtill in being, and two have been carried off by death. Sovereigns are men of like paſſions with us, conſequently ſubject to the ſame caprices, ſlaves to the ſame weakneſſes. It is not becauſe of any exemptions they poſſeſs from the common lot of our nature, that the ſceptre is given them to wield, and that their brows are graced with the diadem; it is only to mark them as the point in which our intereſts unite, and by looking to which we are kept in order.

It is neceſſary then to ſhew what were the duties and diſtinctions of the favourites of Catharine. When her majeſty had fixed her choice on a new favourite, ſhe created him her general aid-de-camp, in order that he might accompany her every where without attracting reproach or inviting obſervation. Thenceforward the favourite occupied in the palace an apartment beneath that of the empreſs, to which it communicated by a private ſtaircaſe. The firſt day of his inſtallation he received a preſent of an hundred thouſand rubles, and every month he found twelve thouſand on his dreſſing-table. The marſhal of the court was commiſſioned

to

to provide him a table of twenty-four covers, and to defray all the expences of his houſehold. The favourite attended the empreſs on all parties of amuſement, at the opera, at balls, promenades, excurſions of pleaſure, and the like, and was not allowed to leave the palace without expreſs permiſſion. He was given to underſtand, that it would not be taken well if he converſed familiarly with other women; and if he went to dine with any of his friends, the miſtreſs of the houſe was always abſent.

Whenever the empreſs caſt her eyes on one of her ſubjects, in the deſign of raiſing him to the poſt of favourite, ſhe cauſed him to be invited to dinner by ſome lady of her confidence, on whom ſhe dropped in as if by chance. There ſhe would enter into diſcourſe with the new comer, with a view to diſcover whether or not he was worthy of the favour ſhe deſigned to vouchſafe him. When the judgment ſhe formed was favourable, the confident was informed of it by a ſignificant look, who took care to notify it to him who had the honour to pleaſe. The day following he received a viſit from one of the phyſicians of the court, who came to inquire into the ſtate of his health; and the ſame evening he accompanied the empreſs at the hermitage, and took poſſeſſion of the apartment that had been prepared for him. It was on the ſelection of Potemkin that theſe formalities began;

and ſince that time they had been conſtantly obſerved.

When a favourite had loſt the power of making himſelf agreeable, there was alſo a particular manner of giving him his diſmiſſion. He received orders to travel; and from that moment he was debarred all acceſs to her majeſty. But he was ſure of finding at the place of his deſtination recompences worthy of the munificent Catharine.

In juſtice to the empreſs of Ruſſia, it muſt be obſerved, that, ſince the ceſſation of the ſword in Poland, her conduct with reſpect to that country had been infinitely more juſt, moderate, and temperate, than that of the other powers. Inſtead of new and endleſs claims, and continually haraſſing and pillaging the people, ſhe had, with reſpect to herſelf, been governed by the late treaties; and to others, been their mediatrix and advocate; and there is little room to doubt, that ſhe was even the means of preventing greater violences than thoſe which have already excited the ſurpriſe of mankind. It is as little to be doubted, that the preſent partition of Poland was far beyond the original intentions of that princeſs, and that ſhe was led, by various means and inſenſible degrees, into thoſe fatal meaſures which have terminated in its ruin.

Some time after the concluſion of the peace with Turky, the empreſs of Ruſſia remitted two hundred and

and fifty thouſand rubles to the king of Poland, as a compenſation for that part of his domains which fell into her hands. This was the firſt compenſation that had been heard of in the affairs of Poland, and will probably be the laſt.

Nothing can be more fully deſcriptive of the condition of the governed, in thoſe countries which were ceded to the partitioning powers, than the conduct of the jews. Theſe people, who for many ages have compoſed a very great part of the inhabitants of Poland, were daily retiring in numerous bodies from thoſe territories which were poſſeſſed by the Auſtrians and Pruſſians, and flying for refuge and protection to the provinces which belong to Ruſſia. Yet the ruſſian government was never conſidered, even comparatively, as a mild one.

Commiſſaries were appointed by the delegation early in the year, to ſettle the limits between the territories of the republic and thoſe of the partitioning powers, in ſo preciſe and accurate a manner, as would for the future prevent all ground, and even poſſibility, of diſpute upon that ſubject. Though theſe commiſſaries held frequent meetings with thoſe who were appointed for the ſame purpoſe by the courts of Vienna and Berlin, the claims of the latter were ſo exorbitant, that they as continually broke up without effect; and the affair of the limits ſeemed now as remote from any proſpect of adjuſtment, as it was on the firſt day of the conferences.

As an unlimited toleration in religious matters was at that time one of the leading principles of the court of Peterſburg, and that both policy and juſtice required every ſecurity and ſatisfaction, in that reſpect, ſhould be granted to the new ſubjects in Poland, the empreſs accordingly erected a biſhopric in the latin ritual at Mohilef, to whoſe eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction all the roman catholics in her vaſt dominions were to be ſubject. The ſuffragan biſhop of Vilna was the firſt appointed to this new biſhopric, and ten thouſand peaſants allotted for the ſupport of his paſtoral dignity.

The republic granted the king, as an indemnity for the loſs of his revenues, an annual income of five millions of poliſh florins (amounting to near three hundred thouſand pounds), in which ſum is included the million of florins deſtined for the ſupport of his guards. She alſo engaged to pay his debts, amounting to ſeven millions of florins; ſhe beſtowed on him, in hereditary poſſeſſion, four ſtaroſties, (which are governments of caſtles, with the diſtricts belonging to them,) to be tranſmitted to his family for ever; and beſides ordered a reimburſement of ſuch money as the king had advanced for the uſe of the ſtate. It was alſo agreed, that the fixed revenues of the republic ſhould be enhanced to thirty-three millions of poliſh florins, and that the army ſhould conſiſt of thirty thouſand effective men.

It ſhould here be remarked, that this great revenue,

venue, amounting to near two millions ſterling, muſt have been rather beyond the ability of Poland, even in its beſt times. It is alſo to be obſerved, that the delegation made a moſt ample proviſion for the king by this arrangement, the articles of which are ſo much in his favour, as to leave little room to doubt that his intereſts were particularly ſupported by the partitioning powers.

The intereſt which the king of Pruſſia took upon this occaſion, in the diſtreſſes of the inhabitants of Poland, is too curious a circumſtance to be overlooked. That monarch, by M. Benoit, his miniſter at Warſaw, put an abſolute negative upon the eſtabliſhment of an army of thirty thouſand men, as a cruel and intolerable oppreſſion, and a burden which it was not proper to lay upon the people in their preſent ſtate. The more we reflect on the nature of his own government, the more we muſt admire the compaſſion and benevolence which operated in this inſtance.

1775. Peace being eſtabliſhed abroad, and every thing quiet at home, Catharine employed herſelf in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of the country, and in opening the minds of her ſubjects; in all which ſhe found Potemkin ſo uſeful a ſecond, that he ſoon acquired an aſcendant little ſhort of abſolute. To him all perſons looked as the diſpenſer of all bounty, and the ſource of all honours. Conſcious of the vaſt influence he poſſeſſed, and knowing that there was

no one to ſupplant him, he grew wanton in the enjoyment of his power, every day obtaining ſome new dignity or ſome acceſſion of revenue; yet, when he was refuſed any thing he requeſted, he would ſhew himſelf ſullen, and ſometimes even angry. It was by ſuch ſingular methods that he entered into the council, and procured himſelf the poſt of vice-preſident at war. Count Zakhar Chernichef * was the preſident of it. Potemkin, who could not endure to ſee any one above him, reſolved to ruin him in the mind of the empreſs, and ſucceeded in the attempt. Zakhar Chernichef delivered in his reſignation; and though the favourite was totally deficient in all the branches of knowledge neceſſary to fill the important office of miniſter at war, he made no ſcruple at taking it upon him. So much preſumption created him at firſt a great number of enemies: he was cenſured for undertaking ſuch a diverſity of buſineſſes, and finiſhing none; for making promiſes of promotion indiſcriminately to ever ſuitor, while he did nothing for any body; and for employing himſelf to no purpoſe but in aggrandizing ſtill more his enormous power.

The empreſs had ſucceeded in reconciling Potemkin with the Orlofs, and was exerting all her efforts to preſerve peace between them. Though for prince Gregory Orlof ſhe had not now the

* The ſame who, in 1762, had the command of the army that was ſent into Sileſia.

ſmalleſt

ſmalleſt remains of affection, nor perhaps of gratitude, ſhe kept terms with him ſtill. As for him, always jealous, not of the pleaſures, but of the honours of Potemkin, he requeſted permiſſion to retire from the court; but the empreſs would not conſent to it, preferring rather to endure his behaviour, than permit him to carry about with him a reſentment, which though it might not be dangerous, could eaſily be rendered alarming by circumſtances. Beſides, ſhe had ſtill another motive for his retention. She was in hopes that his preſence would be ſome check on the petulance and audacity of his rival*. After having long oppoſed Panin to Orlof, ſhe now thought of oppoſing Orlof to Potemkin.

Mortified at being refuſed permiſſion to retire, a permiſſion which had been formerly granted him againſt his inclination, Orlof had a long explanation with her majeſty. He recalled to her mind the obligations which ſhe had to him: he boaſted of his zeal and fidelity; he preſumed to ſay that ſhe had nothing to reproach him with but the being leſs young than his rival. Catharine hearkened to all with great gentleneſs; and, without plainly

* Once, on being ſent for to council, while he was engaged in a party at cards, he refuſed to go. On the meſſenger humbly aſking for a reaſon to take back with him, he told him he might find it in the bible. The meſſenger inquired where. "In the firſt pſalm, and in the firſt verſe:—*Beatus vir qui non abiit in conſilio impiorum.*"

denying the wrongs of the complainant, ſhe aſſured him, that the empreſs was always his friend. By having recourſe to this mode of perſuaſion which ſat ſo eaſily upon her, ſhe determined him to remain.

It was not long, however, before Orlof experienced a freſh cauſe of vexation. Shortly after the execution of Pugatſhef, the empreſs took the reſolution of viſiting Moſco; deſigning at once to enjoy the triumph ſhe had gained over a rebel, and to complete by her preſence the deſtruction of any hopes that might ſtill remain in the breaſts of the diſaffected. Prince Orlof exerted himſelf to diſſuade her from this journey, while Potemkin was employing every means to confirm her in her purpoſe. As the ideas of the latter were in uniſon with the deſires of Catharine, he eaſily carried his point. She ſet out on the journey.

It was not unknown to her majeſty, that, on the way to Moſco, ſhe would paſs through provinces where the popes were held in extreme veneration, and kept the people under the yoke of the moſt groſs ſuperſtition. She had the utmoſt contempt for the childiſh bigotry they taught, and held in abhorrence its dangerous miniſters: but ſhe remembered that ſhe had employed this advantage when ſhe had formed the deſign of dethroning her huſband, and therefore ſhe did not diſdain to employ it again for regaining the alienated minds of her people, and attracting the reverence of an ignorant

ignorant multitude. To this end she carried with her a great number of little figures of saints, which she distributed in the churches and chapels on the road. Besides these, she designed for the cathedral of Mosco a large picture, richly decorated with gold and diamonds; this she had caused to be placed in a carriage, which, during the whole of the journey, and when she made her entry into Mosco, followed immediately after her own.

Six hundred men from each regiment of guards had preceded her arrival in that great metropolis, and put themselves under arms to receive her.

Two triumphal arches had been erected*, and preparations were made for a splendid entertainment. She was attended by a brilliant retinue; the crowd of spectators was immense; order and magnificence prevailed on every side. Nothing was wanting but acclamations and bursts of joy. The populace, more amazed than affected, exhibited not the least sign of satisfaction. The empress had caused proclamation to be made of a diminution of imposts; but the hearts of the people seemed as little moved by her bounties, as at the pomp of her train.

The grand duke experienced a very different reception. The instances of homage that were withheld from his mother were lavished upon him. It is pretended, that a courtier, struck with this contrast, and wishing to dive into the sentiments

* Those two triumphal arches cost, it is said, forty thousand rubles.

of

of the heir of the throne, said to him, "Your "imperial highness sees how much you are beloved. "Oh, if you would! ....." The grand duke answered not a word, but gave the courtier* a look of reprimand, which shewed that, though he was kept out of a throne that belonged to him, he nevertheless knew how to behave as a respectful son.

Some day after her arrival at Mosco, the empress performed a pilgrimage to a convent situated at the distance of forty versts from the city, walking on foot the whole way, attended by all her court. Count Panin alone was not invited to this act of devotion. On this occasion he said, in revenge for the mark of disfavour it betrayed:—"The "empress was not willing that I should accompany "her on her pilgrimage, because she thought that "I had neither devotion enough, nor enough of "the courtier." But it may be, that Catharine thought him too lazy, and too fat†, to walk forty versts on foot.

Panin was become negligent not only of his duties as a courtier, but also of his functions as minister. Ease and amusements were now his principal business. He rarely read the dispatches of the ambassadors‡, and far more rarely deigned to

* Count Andrew Razumofsky, one of the sons of the hetman. The other, who is called count Gregory Razumofsky, follows a studious life at Lausanne.

† His body was like one great lump of fat.

‡ Panin was a great glutton, a great gamester, and a great sleeper.

to anſwer them. This conduct put arms into the hands of his enemies, but was particularly favourable to the ambitious Potemkin, who was ardently longing for the removal of Panin. On ſucceeding prince Orlof in favour, Potemkin had preſumed to form the ſame deſigns with him in aſpiring to obtain the hand of the ſovereign. But he ſtood in awe of count Panin; his frankneſs, his perſuaſive eloquence, even his arts of intrigue, alarmed him; for notwithſtanding his indolence, the old miniſter could yet handle thoſe weapons.

What ſtrange metamorphoſes will not ambition work! The moſt arrogant man in all Ruſſia, he who to all appearance was leaſt calculated for putting himſelf under reſtraint, and who, having not the ſlighteſt tincture of religion, turned all modes of faith into ridicule, Potemkin put on all at once the exterior of a piety the moſt auſtere. At the beginning of Lent, to the ſurpriſe of all, he bid adieu to good cheer, of which he was very fond, lived upon nothing but roots, and his only drink was water; went regularly every day to confeſſion,

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ſleeper. In quality of miniſter he ſcarcely did any thing except giving a few audiences. Olſufief, Teplof, Bakunin and even the empreſs, expedited all affairs, of which Bakunin afterwards made report to Panin. As a proof of his negligence, it is currently ſaid, that he left unanſwered for four months a preſſing diſpatch from field-marſhal Romantzof, who then commanded the army againſt the Turks. The packet had been all this time in the pocket of Panin's robe de chambre.

and

and wearied the ſaints with his prayers. He had taken care to make choice of the ſame confeſſor with the empreſs, and unboſomed to him all his tranſgreſſions, at the ſame time praying him to inform that princeſs, that his alarmed conſcience would no longer allow him to indulge in an intercourſe that was criminal when not ſanctioned by marriage. Whether the monk had been gained over or not, he acquitted himſelf of his commiſſion. Catharine came to no explanation with him; but, eaſily gueſſing the motive of Potemkin's ſcruples, ſhe ſent for him to the palace, and talked to him with tenderneſs, but with dignity. She told him that, though ſhe had a regard for him, ſhe was miſtreſs enough of herſelf to get the better of her paſſion; and that if he was reſolved no longer to fill the poſt of favourite, ſhe could eaſily reſolve to put another in his place.

Potemkin, diſappointed, humiliated, confounded, could not ſo thoroughly conceal his vexation, but the people of the court were able to perceive it. He was even heard to ſay, that he would take holy orders, and cauſe himſelf to be conſecrated archbiſhop. But the empreſs returned to Peterſburg*. Potemkin followed her, and ſoon forgot both his

* The empreſs came in a ſledge from Moſco to Peterſburg; and, though ſhe turned aſide to viſit the manufactory of hardware at Tula, ſhe was only four days on the road. It is ſaid that Peter I. once made the ſame journey in forty-ſix hours, in a ſledge drawn by twenty-four horſes.

devotion

devotion and his reſentment in the purſuits of ambition, and the enjoyments of pleaſure.

But the intrigues of the court have detained us from objects more worthy of our attention. It ought not, however, to be forgotten, that the pleaſures of Catharine prevented her not from applying herſelf to the cares of the government of her empire.

In the former days of Catharine's ſtay in Moſco, ſhe went to meet marſhal Romantzof at Kolomiſki*: ſhe received him with every poſſible mark of ſatisfaction; and nothing could be more flattering than the ſplendid preparations which were made in the capital for the marſhal's reception there, upon his return from that war which he had ſo gloriouſly conducted, and ſo happily concluded. The empreſs, on this occaſion, ſhewed him all the reſpect that was due to the moſt illuſtrious ſupporter of her throne. It had been her intention that he ſhould enter Moſco on the ſame day with herſelf; and that, advancing on horſeback between the triumphal arches that had been raiſed to his honour, he ſhould join her, without ſetting his foot to the ground: and every thing had been prepared for his making a triumphal entry in all the magnificence of the ancients. This honour, however, the general, either through wiſdom or magnanimity, declined. But that circumſtance

* The 20th of July.

did

did not leſſen the intended ſplendor and magnificence in other reſpects, nor the public honours paid to the general. He choſe to appear before his ſovereign, not as a triumphant hero, but as a ſoldier come to make the report of his victories.

The next day the empreſs, accompanied by the grand duke, the principal officers of the empire, and all her courtiers, proceeded on foot from the antient palace of the tzars to the cathedral of Moſco, in order to be preſent at a ſolemn maſs, and the Te Deum * that was ſung on occaſion of the peace.

At the concluſion of this ceremony, the private treaſurer of the empreſs read, with a loud voice, the liſt of the recompences which that monarch was pleaſed to beſtow on the generals who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the war againſt the Turks.

Marſhal Romantzof received an eſtate in land with five thouſand peaſants, one hundred thouſand rubles in ready money, a very fine ſervice of plate, a hat encircled with a laurel branch of brilliant jewellery, and valued at thirty thouſand rubles, the ſtar of the order of St. George, and an epaulette of diamonds, with a magnificent truncheon of field-marſhal; together with a diploma,

* When, or how, or on what occaſion, the ſong of St. Ambroſe, as it is called, was adopted into the ruſſian liturgy, is a queſtion of ſome curioſity, ſince the greek church, whence that of Ruſſia is denominated, knows nothing of it.

adding

adding to his ſurname that of Zadunaiſki, which may be tranſlated, the Ultra-danubian:—to count Alexius Orlof, ſixty thouſand rubles, and a ſword enriched with diamonds, of very conſiderable value, with a diploma granting to him the ſurname of Tſcheſminſki, from the burning of the turkiſh fleet in the bay of Tſchemè:—to general Paul Potemkin, a diploma of count of the ruſſian empire, and her imperial majeſty's picture ſet with diamonds, as an appendage to his dreſs:—to general Panin and prince Dolgoruky, ſixty thouſand rubles each, with a ſword and diamond ſtar:—to count Soltikof, the ſecond claſs of the order of St. George:—to count Ivan Chernichef, the order of St. Andrew.—Several ribbons of St. Alexander Nefsky were conferred, and military promotions made. Admiral Greig was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral, and appointed commandant of Cronſtadt; and the next day the grand duke beſtowed eleven ribbons of the order of St. Anne.

Large gold medals, ſtruck upon the occaſion, were likewiſe diſtributed to the field-marſhals, generals in chief, and foreign miniſters; and ſome of a ſmaller ſize, to the reſt of the nobility of the five firſt claſſes.

Her majeſty likewiſe recalled ſome noblemen from their baniſhment in Siberia; two of whom had reſided there ever ſince the year 1746.

Catharine had already on the quelling of the rebellion, iſſued an imperial ukaſe, whereby vari-

ous taxes were abolifhed, fome of which had been laid on during the war, and others were of old ſtanding.

The taxes impoſed during the late war, and which were now abolifhed, were the tax of eighty kopeeks over and above that of one ruble twenty kopeeks paid per head by merchants and handicraftſmen; the tax of one hundred rubles on each forge or iron work; the tax of five rubles on each furnace in copper founderies; the tax of four kopeeks on every pood of caſt iron; the tenths of founded braſs; the tenths of the capitals employed in mines of every kind; the additional tax of one ruble *per annum* on every weaver's loom employed in manufactories, or by private perſons in their own houſes; as likewiſe the tax of one *per cent.* on the value of every other kind of manufactured goods. A general liberty was alſo given to eſtabliſh manufactories without the neceſſity of previouſly obtaining the permiſſion of the college. The million and half of rubles, the empreſs advanced for ten years to the provinces which had lately been the ſeat of rebellion, at the rate of one *per cent.* for the firſt three years, and three *per cent.* for the remaining ſeven, was to be diſtributed amongſt the proprietors of peaſants, in the proportion of forty rubles for every man loſt by them in the late troubles.

The taxes upon the eſtates of the livonian noblemen were taken off.

Amongſt

Amongſt the taxes of old ſtanding, which were now aboliſhed, were the tax on tanned leather and ſkins; that on wax, on tallow-melting, on ſoap works, on oil-manufactories, on private ſalt works, and that on malt and hops.

The prohibition was taken off from all the towns and villages in the empire, of erecting ſmithies and ſmall iron-works; and they were thenceforth permitted to manufacture and trade in all kinds of iron whatſoever.

The ſame edict contained a number of internal regulations, together with acts of grace and pardon. It took off all prohibitions againſt contracting marriages without the conſent of the governors of towns and provinces, and all dues hitherto paid to obtain their permiſſion.

It admitted all burghers, who ſhould declare upon oath that they were poſſeſſed of a capital of five hundred rubles, into the claſs of merchants; whereby they were exempted from thoſe taxes to which they were ſubjected by their former condition: but in lieu of theſe they were to pay one *per cent.* upon their capital, whatever it might be, and which they were likewiſe to declare upon oath; and, contrariwiſe, thoſe who had hitherto come under the denomination of merchants, but who did not actually poſſeſs a capital of five hundred rubles, were returned into the claſs of burghers.

All peaſants enfranchiſed by their lords, were, at their reverſion, to chooſe whether they would

enter into the ſervice of government, or become merchants or burghers, that they might be taxed, or exempted from taxes, accordingly.

A general pardon was granted to all perſons concerned in the late rebellion, with an injunction to bury every thing relative thereto in oblivion; as alſo a releaſe to all priſoners who had been confined, on account of any crimes whatever, for the ſpace of ten years, without having had judgment paſſed upon them; nor was thenceforth any crime, committed ſo long ago as ten years, without being brought to light, to be examined into: and this was declared to be a permanent law throughout the empire, for ever.

All nobles ſerving as ſubaltern officers, were to be ſubject to no other penalties and puniſhments than ſuch as had been inflicted on their ſuperor officers; nor were the corporal puniſhments of the private men to be for the future ſo ſevere, nor ſo ignominious, as they had hitherto been.

The ſenate received a ſpecial order to lower the duty on the ſale of lands, houſes, &c. from ſix to four *per cent.*

The empreſs had been, for ſome years paſt, meditating a regulation for the interior government of her country. This ſhe cauſed to be printed at Moſco: at the ſame time iſſuing an order, that it ſhould not at firſt be executed, except in the governments of Smolenſk and Tver, as the people of thoſe two provinces appeared to her the moſt

moſt intelligent, the moſt docile, and conſequently the moſt fit for contributing to the ſucceſs of the intended trial of the new laws*.

In a former part of this volume†, we ſpoke in general terms of a conſtitution for the ruſſian empire, which ſeriouſly occupied her mind, and from which we took occaſion then to lay before the reader that part which related to the police. It now remains for us to give a more particular account of that conſtitution itſelf, in which, however, we ſhall obſerve as much regard to brevity as the nature of the ſubject will allow.

Catharine began by dividing her extenſive empire into governments or viceroyalties. Of theſe ſhe formed forty-three, whereof thirty-eight lie in Europe, and five in Aſia. The remoteſt of the aſiatic part are indeed of an enormous circuit; but in the reſt the difference in point of extent is not ſo very conſpicuous. Many of them were again divided into provinces; but all into circles, of which each government, according to its dimenſions, had ſix, ten, or more. Each of the

* The firſt ukaſe concerning it was dated in November 1775. The regulation was afterwards ſucceſſively introduced and eſtabliſhed in all the other provinces of the empire, during the years 1776—1783. Theſe regulations were even tranſlated into the tartarian languages, in order, in due time, to their introduction among that people.

† See before, pp. 234,5. The whole of this conſtitution has been annulled by the preſent emperor Paul, and the viceroyalties aboliſhed.

latter was to consist of from three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand persons of the male sex, consequently of six hundred thousand or eight hundred thousand people; and every circle of from forty thousand to sixty thousand inhabitants: but in the actual establishment of it afterwards this was not observed; there are some which comprise in them a greater, and others a smaller number of persons.

The viceroyalty has a general governor, a governor, and a government-administration; in which, beside these two personages, two counsellors have seats. Subordinate to these, are a court of justice, a finance chamber, a superior country-court, a viceroyalty magistrate, &c. The circle has also its court of judicature; likewise a ward or guardian office, a land-surveyor, a rent-master, a physician, a surgeon; in the cities are magistrates; in the towns, common-councils; in both, oral-courts of judicature, &c. * The whole establishment was erected on the most splendid footing, in order that provision might be made both for whatever was necessary to the well being of the department, and what had a tendency to the improvement and to the embellishment of the country; and the appearance and retinue of the governor were, in the judgment both of foreigners and natives, suitable to the dignity of his station, and

* See before, pp. 247,8.

the

the honour of the government over which he preſided.

Two examples of the annual government expence, without including the diſburſements for the military commands, will ſuffice to explain this matter: the new eſtabliſhment demands annually for the viceroyalty of St. Peterſburg, conſiſting of ten circles and the city of Cronſtadt, the ſum of one hundred and forty-three thouſand eight hundred rubles: for the viceroyalty of Tver, which has thirteen circles, one hundred and twenty thouſand nine hundred and fifty-three rubles.

Beſides the advantages ariſing from an uniform and fixed adminiſtration of juſtice, her majeſty perhaps thought, and in this opinion ſhe had the concurrence of many well-meaning perſons, that by means of theſe inſtitutions, particularly in the interior provinces, by the example of civil-officers with rich ſalaries, by the erection of a public theatre, and other incitements to emulation in dreſs and appearance, to introduce a greater refinement of manners, and more attention to the elegances of life; but others have ſince thought they perceived a luxury heretofore unknown, daily gaining ground, to the detriment of the morals of that frugal people.

The principal matter in this new diviſion of the empire, was the complete alteration of the old internal conſtitution. In this reſpect it was the greateſt and moſt comprehenſive reform that Ruſ-

ſia had ever ſeen (even not excepting the reformations of Peter the great); an excellent means to the promotion of national proſperity, and a noble machine in the hands of an attentive government. Every city, every town, may be conſidered as a ſmall community, which cities and towns, by diviſions into circles, are conſolidated into one larger community, whence the ſeveral viceroyalties grow. In each of theſe latter, the two ſovereign perſons of the government, (of whom the ſecond, the governor, is properly a vice-general-governor) with all their power, have yet only to do with the peculiar affairs of the government of their own territory; the courts of juſtice therein are entirely independent on them, and their ultimate reſort is to the tribunal of appeals belonging to the viceroyalty. The regulation of the claſhing concerns of the ſeveral colleges of juſtice, and the reſt of the inſtitute, very little reſembling any thing of the kind in Europe, is truly admirable.

All is ſimple, uniform, and for the moſt part novel. It is not without foundation that philoſophical politicians have maintained, that ſuch a ſimplification was favourable to deſpotiſm: but in an empire, whoſe conſtitution was already an unlimited ruler, it was in the higheſt degree proper; eſpecially on account of its prodigious compaſs, which otherwiſe would be neither eaſily ſuſceptible of inſpection, nor of being vigorouſly actuated throughout. Whatever was not ſuitable to this

ſyſtem,

ſyſtem, was either aboliſhed or new-moulded; whatever, in particular provinces militated againſt the new form of government, was removed. The countries bordering on the Baltic, formerly conquered from the Swedes, as well as the tribes of Tartars on the cataracts of the Dniepr, were deprived of their old conſtitutions, however ſolemnly ſecured to them by treaties of peace and acts of ſubmiſſion. The firſt ſhock could not paſs over without violent commotions; but now the moſt extenſive empire on the earth, with all its territories and countries, was phyſically and geographically cemented together, in regard to its internal policy, truly into one body politic.

The reform of the ſenate at the commencement of this reign, had, in a manner, prepared the way to this new creation; and the improved adminiſtration of law, which was introduced in 1780, ſtood again in the cloſeſt connection with that conſtitution of government. In all the provinces, the forms of judicature hitherto in uſe were changed; they received uniformly courts of juſtice in regular and adequate gradations, and in various modes, whence the laſt appeal was to the directing ſenate.

Two inſtitutes in every government-circle deſerve particular mention: the college of general proviſion, which took cogniſance of all affairs relative to ſchools, orphan-houſes, infirmaries, and alms-houſes, mad-houſes, work-houſes, and places of correction; and the court of conſcience, which

pronounced according to equity, in cafes where no judicial proof was to be had; and before which the moft infignificant perfon in the empire could cite the general governor himfelf, whenever he thought he had a claim upon him.

All the colleges that have been here and before mentioned, had their peculiar members, and thefe their ftated rank; for even in this matter an exact gradation prevailed, which certainly contributed to the maintenance of order throughout the whole monarchy.

Before fhe promulgated this regulation, the empref repaired to the fenate, in all the ftate of imperial majefty, where fhe caufed it to be read and enregiftered in her prefence. She had already caufed to be enregiftered an ukafe, naturally tending to gain her the gratitude of a great proportion of her fubjects. The inhabitants of the diftant provinces had been, till that time, obliged to travel up to Peterfburg or to Mofco to have their caufes tried. Catharine refolved to fave them thefe long and expenfive journies; fhe therefore declared that henceforward all fuits fhould be adjudged by the tribunals of the provinces; referving, however, to the parties the right of appealing from the judgment of thefe tribunals to one or the other fenate*, and even to the council of the empref, but alfo making it known that, if the

* Though the fenate of Mofco is no more than a fraction of that of Peterfburg, it is regarded as a diftinct tribunal.

former

former judgment was confirmed, the appellant ſhould pay a fine.

Another ukaſe diffuſed joy and gladneſs among the inhabitants of Siberia. The rebellion of Pugatſhef had long put a ſtop to their commerce, and the ſcarcity of money ſtill greatly impeded its operations. By applying a remedy to this latter inconvenience, the empreſs cauſed the former to be forgotten. A bank was eſtabliſhed at Tobolſk, and committed to the care of Gotoſtzof, who had already given proofs of his ſkill in the direction of the bank of Peterſburg. The commerce of Siberia preſently regained its former activity.

The general commerce of the empire attracted the eſpecial attention of Catharine. She encouraged it to the utmoſt of her power; juſtly conſidering it as the principal ſource of her greatneſs.

About the ſame time, ten veſſels laden with wine, having on board ſome chriſtian emigrants from the Morea, appeared at the Dardanelles, to paſs from the Archipelago to the Euxine, in order to proceed to the ruſſian territories, on the borders of the ſea of Azof. The commandant of the Dardanelles ſent an officer to ſearch them; and, upon the captain's refuſing to conſent to it, he obliged them to anchor under the forts, and ſubmit to be viſited. Colonel Peterſen, chargé des affaires from Ruſſia, being informed of this violence, demanded immediate ſatisfaction, as a violation

lation of the eleventh article of the treaty of peace; and the Porte diſpatched a firman, by which the commandant was ordered to let thoſe veſſels paſs freely.

No material change took place in the circumſtances of Poland ſince the concluſion of the war between its great neighbours. The court of Peterſburg directed all the affairs of that country with as unbounded a ſway, as it regulated thoſe of its domeſtic provinces. It is true that the nobility there were ſtill as turbulent, and the factions as violent as ever; but, fortunately for themſelves and the people, the power which overawed and controlled them, was of ſo ſuperior a ſtrength and magnitude, as effectually to reſtrain them from thoſe deſperate efforts which had of late ſo repeatedly heaped ruin upon themſelves and the republic. Under the order preſerved by that ſtrong graſp, the country was now beginning to recover from the effects of thoſe dreadful calamities which it had ſo long endured; and its extenſive plains once more to ſmile under the hand of cultivation.

The moderation and influence of the court of Peterſburg, had alſo produced a very happy effect upon the conduct of the other great partitioning powers: they both having deſiſted from ſeveral of their late claims, and relaxed greatly from that rigour and violence with which they had treated the republic.

The diſſidents alſo were at length remembered by

by the court of Ruſſia; and their privileges were now aſcertained and ſecured. They were particularly ſecured in the public profeſſion and exerciſe of their religion, and were allowed churches and ſchools even at Warſaw; but were reſtrained from the uſe of bells in the former. Some other regulations took place in their favour; particularly a right of appeal, in all caſes of grievance, to a tribunal, in which a certain number of their own communion were to be admitted as aſſeſſors. They were, however, ſtill debarred from ſitting in the ſenate, and from occupying any offices in the departments of adminiſtration.

It was with a view to excite emulation, and confer a ſort of dignity on ſuch of her ſubjects as ſhould addict themſelves to commerce, that Catharine publiſhed the edict* mentioned above, freeing them from the capitation and the obligation in which they had hitherto been, of drawing lots for ſupplying recruits to the army and navy; and by permitting, at the ſame time, all free boors to enroll themſelves in one of the mercantile claſſes†,

* It is called in Ruſſia the edict, or the ukaſe of grace.

† The ruſſian traders, or merchants, are divided into three claſſes. The firſt is compoſed of thoſe who poſſeſs, or are rated as poſſeſſing, a capital of one hundred thouſand rubles: the ſecond, of thoſe who have fifty thouſand rubles; and the third, of thoſe who have only one hundred rubles.—They pay to the government according to the claſs in which they are inſcribed; and it is eaſy to imagine that vanity often gets the better of truth, and even of avarice.

on

on condition of paying annually to the crown one *per. cent.* on the capital which they ſhould employ in their traffic.

In the ſame deſign of improving and extending the commerce of her empire, it was, that the empreſs renewed her treaty with England. She was alſo the declared patroneſs of induſtry and agriculture. New manufactories were every where eſtabliſhed, by her own direction and encouragement: ſhe employed workmen to rebuild the villages, and to repair the devaſtation which the rebellion of Pugatſhef had occaſioned to the colonies on the ſhores of the Volga. But, unfortunately, the men to whom the empreſs committed the exerciſe of her power, but rarely fulfilled her views. Entruſted with authority for the purpoſe of rendering her government amiable to numerous tribes of people, they ſeemed ſtudiouſly to bring an odium upon it.

Great pains were uſed, and no expence or encouragement ſpared to induce foreigners to people thoſe vaſt deſarts which overſpread a great part of the empire; and which, in many places, require only cultivation, to produce, in the greateſt abundance, every thing neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence and comfort of mankind. Theſe means joined with the inducement of an unbounded toleration, in religious matters, had ſucceeded ſo happily, that twelve new colonies, comprehending upwards of ſix thouſand families, were already eſtabliſhed on the borders of the Volga. In order to facilitate

the commerce and communication with China, and to prevent the great expences attending caravans, no leſs endeavours were uſed to form a cultivated tract along the courſe of the road through thoſe wide and void regions which ſeparate the two empires. Towns and villages were founded at proper diſtances for this purpoſe; and, as a rampart at the head of the line, ſeveral colonies of poliſh farmers had been eſtabliſhed during the war, in the country immediately adjoining to the confines of China. As theſe poor emigrants, who had eſcaped the double horrors of war and oppreſſion in their own country, were liberally provided with ſtock and all neceſſaries, and began to taſte the ſweets of ſecurity in perſon and property; the new ſettlements flouriſhed accordingly, until the rapacity of the governors, encouraged by the ſuppoſed impunity which their diſtance from the ſeat of government, and the means they poſſeſſed of ſuppreſſing information and complaint would afford, changed the pleaſing proſpect, and had nearly accompliſhed their ruin. Some of the new colonies had been laid waſte by the depredations of the rebels, and altogether were declining by the mal-adminiſtration, and the rapacity of the ruſſian agents. The hundred thouſand coloniſts, which Catharine had at ſeveral times brought into her country*, the greater part of whom were Ger-

* In 1764 and 1765.

mans,

mans, were reduced, ten years afterwards to leſs than twenty-nine thouſand*, diſperſed and languiſhing in the parts about Saratof, Kief, and Tzaritzin.

While Catharine was yet at Moſco, ſhe learned that ſome officers had juſt been following the example of lieutenant-colonel Kiſchenſkoï†, whoſe unworthy conduct has been already mentioned. Their vexations forced a horde of Baſhkirs to revolt. Theſe Tartars not only refuſed to pay the cuſtomary tribute, but they maſſacred the ruſſian officers, as well as the popes, that were ſent to them; and placed in the portable chapels or ſhrines of thoſe popes, the images of the Dalailama, preferring their old idolatry to a religion the followers whereof were to them only greedy oppreſſors. The empreſs opened a treaty with them. Officers leſs rapacious than the former were now ſent to them, and the whole horde returned peaceably under the ruſſian authorty.

Her majeſty at the ſollicitation of the inhabitants of the newly acquired provinces of White-Ruſſia, to have their taxes put upon the ſame footing on which they were before it came under

* Twenty-eight thouſand two hundred and ninety-three perſon of both ſexes, forming ſeven thouſand one hundred and eighty-five families.

† The ſame whoſe covetouſneſs and rapacity forced ſo many thouſands of Kalmuks to abandon Ruſſia, and betake themſelves to the mountains of Thibet.

her

her ſceptre, inſtead of barely granting them their requeſt, reduced their taxes ſtill lower, by taking off one half of what they were then rated at.

Moreover, to encourage trade in the Euxine, lately opened to her by the treaty with the Porte, where it would not meet with thoſe impediments which nature has placed in the Baltic, where the climate is a check to trade for the greater part of the year, and the dangerous coaſts of the Cattegatte and the gulf of Finland cauſe numberleſs ſhipwrecks during the remainder: Catharine allowed the uſe of ſhips freight-free to Guſetnikof, a ruſſian merchant, who had raiſed a capital for that undertaking; and alſo promiſed to make good all his loſſes, leaving, at the ſame time, the whole profits which might accrue from ſuch trade entirely to himſelf.

In the mean time Ruſſia ſtill continued to move in that ſuperior ſphere of conduct, which had for ſome years excited the admiration of the world. Great and ſplendid actions, adorned by a noble magnificence, and a munificence only ſuited to the reſources of ſo vaſt an empire, threw a luſtre all around which dazzled the eyes of the beholders, and afforded a permanency to the government of Catharine which was little to have been expected, either from the diſpoſition of the people, the uncertain tenure of arbitrary power, or the many inauſpicious circumſtances which attended its commencement. Individuals felt them-

ſelves partakers in the exalted ſtate of the whole, and that ſenſe ſeemed to influence their conduct. A captain of a ruſſian ſhip, forgetting all ſober maxims of prudence, with a noble generoſity, at the hazard of his life and property, and encountering what is ſtill more dreadful than either, the danger of ſlavery, boldly went and cut a rich chriſtian prize out of a fortified piratical harbour in Barbary, ſcorning all benefit to himſelf or his brave crew, other than the glory of the act, with the pleaſure of reſtoring liberty to the captives, and their property to the pillaged.

The attention which had of late, more than ever, been paid to the increaſe and improvement of the ruſſian naval force, ſufficiently ſpoke the intentions of the government, even if other evidence were wanting, to advance ſpeedily into the firſt claſs of commercial and maritime power. But, of all the vaſt projects which have engaged the attention of the rulers of that empire, from Peter the great, downward, none equalled in magnitude that which not only occupied the contemplation of Catharine, but was already in ſome degree undertaken*. This was no leſs than the union of the remote and inland Caſpian with the far-

* At leaſt ſo it was ſaid to be in the german gazettes of the time of which we are ſpeaking; in which we alſo find the following: The empreſs of Ruſſia, beſides effectually beginning to make ſeveral of her rivers navigable, and join them, and of courſe

far-distant and boundless frozen ocean. However extraordinary this scheme may appear, and however difficult it might prove in the execution, yet, by means of canals, with the junction of several navigable rivers, it might perhaps be found not impracticable. If at any time this plan should succeed, it will undoubtedly exhibit the greatest monument of human industry, and the most extraordinary inland navigation, that has ever been known.

While Catharine was employed in calming the rebellious Tartars of the eastern part of her dominion, she used her efforts to induce those of the lesser Tartary to submit to her sovereignty. The conquests of prince Dolgoruky had disposed a great number of the inhabitants of the Krimea to favour the Russians. The new khan Doulet-Gueray continued devoted to the Ottomans: a part of his people refused to obey him. Peace had been for some time concluded between the Turks and the Russians; but the Tartars continued still fighting. The Russians strewed presents and dissensions among them. They secretly stirred them up to rebellion; and sometimes even supported them with arms in their hands. All at once they

course the seas bordering her vast dominions, by canals, and pushing her discoveries towards Japan and North America, has planted several villages in the road to China, in order to render the long journey there less dangerous, dreary, and uncomfortable.

appeared in the Krimea in conſiderable force; and by pretending to attempt to take Doulet-Gueray by ſurpriſe, they took care to give him an opportunity to eſcape. Doulet-Gueray did not let it ſlip; but this khan had ſcarcely quitted his country, when the Ruſſians cauſed Sahim-Gueray to be elected in his ſtead.

1776. Soon after this, the Ruſſians conſtructed a fortreſs between Kertſch and Yenikaly, together with a ſpacious town for the accommodation of the chriſtians of the Krimea who had come over to them for protection. The Turks, diſſatisfied with the revolution of the Krimea and the uſurpations of the Ruſſians, threatened to have recourſe to arms. The imprudent and feeble Sahim-Gueray, by the advice of a ruſſian agent who reſided with him, ſent to Peterſburg a deputation of ſix myrzas*. This homage was ſo flattering to the ambition of Catharine, that it could not but be well received: ſhe ſeemed to behold in theſe myrzas new ſubjects come to take their oath of allegiance. She treated them in a friendly manner; and previous to their preſentation for audience, they were habited in magnificent caftans†. They intreated her to vouchſafe her protection to their khan: a fatal protection, which that unhappy prince afterwards too dearly paid for.

Marſhal Romantzof had already received orders

* Tartarian nobles.

† Theſe caftans coſt four thouſand rubles each.

to

to collect an army on the banks of the Boryſthenes*. Every thing ſeemed to indicate an approaching rupture between Ruſſia and the Porte; but prince Repnin, being ſent ambaſſador extraordinary from the empreſs to Conſtantinople, ſucceeded in calming, for ſome time, the reſentment of the divan. This was all that Catharine wiſhed for. She only deſired to gain time for preparing to enter the liſts with advantage; as the war was neceſſary to her ſchemes of invaſion.

Inceſſantly pre-occupied with her grand deſigns, Catharine ſeemed, nevertheleſs, to be thinking of nothing but pleaſures. Her time was ſo ably diſtributed, that ſhe always found enough of it for buſineſs with her miniſters, for framing new laws, for writing, with her own hand, the orders ſhe ſent to her ambaſſadors and to her generals, for keeping up a regular correſpondence with men of letters and artiſts, for duly giving audience to her ſubjects, for partaking in all the amuſements of her court, and for gratifications ariſing from more tender connections. Conſtant in her ambition, ſhe was ſometimes faithleſs in attachments, and the politics of the woman were not entirely abandoned for thoſe of the monarch.

She had not long been returned to Peterſburg ere Potemkin ceaſed to be the object of her fond affection. She heaped benefits upon him in ſuch

* The Dnieſtr.

profuſion, that it looked as if ſhe had not honours and dignities enough to offer him; yet her heart was already decided in favour of another. A young Ukrainian, named Zavadofsky, was honoured in private with the ſmiles of the empreſs. He was preſently appointed her ſecretary; and ſhortly after, her majeſty openly called him her favourite *. This change gave occaſion to a ſcene that ſeemed of a very extraordinary nature at the court of Catharine. Whenever that princeſs gave an order, it appeared impoſſible that it ſhould not be executed: however arduous the undertaking, ſhe would always be obeyed. Now, it is known, that the diſcarded favourite received orders to travel, and that it was no longer allowable for him to preſent himſelf before the empreſs till ſhe ſhould deign to recall him. The impetuous Orlof himſelf had ſubmitted to that cuſtom. But Potemkin took the liberty to evade it: on receiving the fatal order he pretended to ſet out; and the very next day he came, in the utmoſt compoſure, and placed himſelf facing the empreſs juſt as ſhe was ſitting down to her party at whiſt. Without evincing the leaſt mark of diſpleaſure, at the preſumptuous diſobedience of Potemkin, Catharine advanced a card to him from the

* Yelagin, intendant of the entertainments at court, firſt employed Zavadofsky in the court theatre in quality of prompter. Marſhal Romantzof afterwards took him as his ſecretary and aide-de-camp. That general then made him ſecretary of the cabinet to the empreſs, and Zavadofsky became favourite.

pack,

pack, told him that he always played luckily, and ſpoke no more of his departure. Potemkin preſerved all his poſts, his honours, his influence, and from the lover became the friend of the empreſs. Zavadoſsky had the art of pleaſing: but Potemkin had rendered himſelf uſeful; and his genius, more analogous to the genius of Catharine than any other of her favourites, uninterruptedly retained the aſcendant over her.

In the mean time, Orlof, who had been too ſuddenly informed of the diſgrace of Potemkin, haſtened to Peterſburg. Here he found his rival ſtill in the enjoyment, not of the affection, but of the confidence of the ſovereign. Prince Orlof thought himſelf able to reſume that confidence, while a youthful lover, and a ſtranger to politics, poſſeſſed the heart of Catharine: but he was ſoon undeceived. He made his appearance at court, kiſſed the hand of the empreſs, and ſeeing Potemkin beſide her, ſet out immediately for Moſco.

The courtiers who were moſt habituated to obſerve the empreſs, could not divine which was the lover whom ſhe preferred. They could not imagine that Potemkin would ſurrender his intereſt in the affections of that princeſs. They neglected to conſider, that love is ſilent in the preſence of ambition.

Panin ſeemed more than ever ſunk in his uſual indolence, which now began to border on perfect apathy. But the empreſs left him in poſſeſſion of his poſts; both becauſe his long ſervices merited

that indulgence, and becauſe he made one of a very powerful party. This party was deſirous of ſeeing Paul Petrovitch lay claim to a throne which by right was his; but the prudent moderation of the prince and his reverence for his mother repulſed all ambitious ſchemes. Catharine, however, who ſometimes forgot what her ſon would not, for thinking on what he might do, was not entirely free from inquietudes. She was miſtruſtful of all perſons whom ſhe thought capable of inſtilling bold advice into the mind of that prince; and ſhe was ſtill more apprehenſive of thoſe who could arm themſelves in his behalf.

Theſe apprehenſions had not eſcaped the obſervation of the king of Pruſſia. From the diſtance of Brandenburg he ſpied all that paſſed in the ſoul of Catharine; and dexterouſly applied it to his advantage. Knowing that he alone could effectually ſupport the grand duke in aſſerting his rights; whenever therefore he wanted to lead the empreſs to his purpoſes, he never failed to teſtify great concern about her ſon. The ſuſpicions of Catharine were alarmed; and, for preſerving the friendſhip of Frederic, ſhe eaſily made ſacrifices, whatever they might coſt.

The grand duke had a great friendſhip for count Andrew Razumoſsky*. He engaged him in all his

Count Andrew Razumoſsky was brought up with the grand duke Paul Petrovitch. Being deſigned by the hetman, his father, to

his parties, and placed the greateſt confidence in him. The empreſs, who knew the bold and enterpriſing ſpirit of Razumoſsky, was alarmed at this intimacy, and reſolved to break it; and for this the count himſelf ſoon furniſhed her with an opportunity. Catharine remarked ſome ſigns of ſecret intelligence paſſing between him and the grand ducheſs *, and made no ſcruple to ſuppoſe that Razumoſsky had preſumed to form ſome raſh deſigns upon the princeſs; of which ſhe carefully apprized the grand duke. That prince could not prevail upon himſelf to imagine that the ſuſpicions of his mother had any real foundation; nevertheleſs, without withdrawing his kindneſs from count Razumoſsky, he reſolved to keep an eye upon him; and recommended it to his conſort to be cautious and reſerved in her behaviour. Whether, in fact, the grand ducheſs had already ſome inclination for Razumoſsky, whether theſe very ſurmiſes and ſuggeſtions, and the reſtraints that were laid upon her in conſequence of them, might not give birth to this inclination, ſhe kept up a ſecret correſpondence with him. She went farther, it is ſaid: ſhe

to ſerve in the navy, he ſerved an apprenticeſhip on board an engliſh ſhip. In the expedition of the Ruſſians to the Archipelago, he was with admiral Elphinſton. Since that, he commanded the frigate that went to fetch the grand ducheſs from Lubeck. At the death of Catharine he was ambaſſador from Ruſſia to the court of Vienna, where he is ſtill.

* The grand duke's firſt conſort.

formed the design of revenging herself on her who had brought her virtue into suspicion with her husband; and accordingly entered into political intrigues, which could not fail of displeasing the empress. Whether these reports were true or false, she had not time to put them in execution. She died in childbed. The loss of her brought on Catharine one criminal imputation more *.

As soon as it was known that the grand duchess had expired, the empress seemed at once to be overwhelmed with grief; she retired to Tzarsko-selo, taking the grand duke with her. The event had really thrown that prince into the deepest affliction. However, after his sorrow had somewhat subsided, he looked over the papers of his deceased consort, and among them found letters from count Razumosky. These letters he immediately carried to his mother; calling upon her for vengeance on the man who had thus dared to disobey her com-

* What served to add credibility to the surmises was, that the midwife who attended the grand duchess very soon made a great fortune. She lived on a familiar footing with the empress, and talked with prince Potemkin and count Besborodko in the style of thee and thou; and who often went to dine with her. Dr. Almann was the official accoucheur; but, upon being asked by a friend afterwards why he was not present at the delivery, he replied: "Because, on a previous visit to her imperial highness, "the empress said to me, 'Sir, if any thing disastrous should "happen, you will answer it with your head.' Upon which," continued the doctor, "I made my obeissances, retired, and have "never been at court since."

mands.

mands. The empreſs, not willing that the affair ſhould make a noiſe in the town; and at the ſame time wiſhing to ſpare the ſon of the hetman who had formerly been ſo inſtrumental to her, yielded however to the reſentment of the grand duke. But, inſtead of baniſhing Razumofsky to Siberia, ſhe baniſhed him to Venice, with the title of her envoy extraordinary. Razumofsky had already been ſent upon diſtinguiſhed embaſſies; and, although he perceived that this new miſſion was only intended as a mark of diſapprobation, he made no heſitation to accept it. Having ſtaid there ſome time, Catharine appointed him her miniſter at Naples*; at which place he was when the grand duke was on his travels in Italy; and it was noticed, that, on paſſing through Naples, the prince ſent to count Razumofsky† to forbid him to appear in his preſence.

A few days antecedent to the death of the grand ducheſs, prince Henry of Pruſſia arrived at St. Peterſburg. Frederic being informed that, while the demarcations of Poland were carrying on, the commiſſioners of the co-partitioning powers could neither agree among themſelves nor with the Poles, had requeſted that his brother might go and confer with the empreſs, in order to terminate the differ-

* Count Andrew Razumofsky ſeemed formed for pleaſing princeſſes; for it is aſſerted, that the queen of Naples granted him extraordinary favours.

† In the year 1781.

ences attempted to be raiſed between the court of Ruſſia and that of Berlin. Prince Henry was eager to comply with that deſire.

The ſame honours were paid to prince Henry as at the firſt time of his coming to Ruſſia. He entered the reſidence at a late hour. It was on Eaſter-eve. The empreſs, always attentive to flatter the ſuperſtitious propenſity of the multitude, paſſed the greater part of the night in the chapel, with all her court. Prince Henry could not ſee her till the enſuing day. He diſcourſed with her often in private on the obſtacles that had ſprung up in Poland; and he found it not difficult to remove them. It was in one of theſe converſations, that the empreſs having ſtarted ſome objections, prince Henry ſuddenly replied:—"Madam, I ſee one ſure method "of obviating all difficulty. It may perhaps be "diſpleaſing to you on account of Poniatoſsky: "but you will nevertheleſs do well to give it your "approbation; ſince compenſations may be offered "to that monarch, of greater value to him, than "the throne which is continually tottering under "him.—The remainder of Poland muſt be par-"titioned."

This idea pleaſed the ambitious Catharine; and the annihilation of Poland was decreed.

The grand ducheſs having unfortunately died *, without leaving an heir to inherit the empire, the

* On the 26th of April.

great

great affair of ſucceſſion was a matter of too much importance to be governed or limited by thoſe forms which prevail in ordinary caſes of a ſimilar nature. Accordingly the obſequies of Natalia Alexievna were ſcarcely ended, when the empreſs began to turn her thoughts to providing a ſecond conſort for her ſon. She told prince Henry that ſhe had caſt her eyes on the princeſs of Wirtemburg Stutgard, his niece, and that ſhe was deſirous of ſeeing an union between her and the grand duke.

The princeſs of Wirtemburg was already betrothed to the hereditary prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt: but prince Henry, judging that the empire of Ruſſia muſt be of infinitely more value to her than the langravate of Heſſe, immediately ſet about diſengaging her from her contract. He diſpatched a courier to the king of Pruſſia, informing him of the intentions of the empreſs, and aſking his aſſent. Frederic made no heſitation. The union propoſed by his brother was too favourable to the ſcheme of drawing cloſer the ties that ſubſiſted between Ruſſia and Pruſſia, to allow him to heſitate in endeavouring to bring it to effect. He was acquainted with the paſſion with which the princeſs of Wirtemburg had inſpired the prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt; but when political concerns were in queſtion, what was love in the eyes of Frederic? He ſpoke himſelf to the young prince, and profited ſo ably of the aſcendant which he had over him, that

that the lover conceived it a matter of duty and reputation to make the ſacrifice of his paſſion.

Having ſecured the compliance of the prince of Heſſe-Darmſtadt, Frederic informed prince Henry of it, and by the ſame conveyance wrote to him that the parents of the princeſs of Wirtemburg would by no means oppoſe the elevation of their daughter. In theſe diſpatches he invited the grand duke to pay a viſit to Berlin, as he was deſirous, previous to the coming to any concluſion, that the prince ſhould ſee the new ſpouſe that was deſigned for him. He was himſelf extremely happy in ſeizing this occaſion for making a perſonal acquaintance with the grand duke.

Catharine, ſatisfied with theſe arrangements, ſet about making conſiderable preparations, in order that her ſon might accompany prince Henry on his return. She allotted forty thouſand rubles for the journey of the princeſs of Wirtemburg. She called to Peterſburg marſhal Romantzof, who reſided in his government of the Ukraine, and charged him to attend the grand duke to Berlin.—"It is only," ſaid ſhe "to the friendſhip of prince Henry, and to the "moſt illuſtrious ſupporter of my throne, that I can "conſent to truſt my ſon."

It was towards the cloſe of ſummer, when the grand duke ſet out the firſt from Tzarſko-ſelo *; the next day prince Henry took leave of the em-

* Marſhal Romantzof, count Nicholas Soltikof, prince Kourakin, and the boyar Nariſhkin, accompanied him on his journey.

preſs.

preſs. Whatever were her majeſty's ſentiments, ſhe ſeemed much affected at the departure of both the one and the other. Scarcely had the travellers joined at Riga, before they received ſeveral letters from her. The following is that which ſhe wrote with her own hand to prince Henry.

" I take the liberty of tranſmitting to your royal " highneſs, the four letters of which I ſpoke to you, " and which you promiſed to take care of. The " firſt is for the king your brother, and the others " for the princes and princeſſes of Wirtemburg. " I venture to pray you, that if my ſon ſhould " beſtow his heart on the princeſs Sophia, as I have " no doubt but he will, to deliver the three latter " according to their directions, and to ſupport the " contents of them with that perſuaſive eloquence " with which GOD has endowed you.

" The convincing and reiterated proofs which " you have given me of your friendſhip, the high " eſteem which I have conceived for your vir- " tues, and the extent of the confidence which " you have taught me to repoſe in you, leave me " no doubt on the ſucceſs of a buſineſs which I " have ſo much at heart. Was it poſſible for me " to place it in a better hands?

" Your royal highneſs is aſſuredly an unique in " the art of negotiation: pardon me that expreſ- " ſion of my friendſhip. But I think there has " never been an example of an affair of this nature " tranſacted as this is. Accordingly it is the pro-

" duction

" duction of the moſt intimate friendſhip and con-
" fidence.

" That princeſs will be the pledge of it. I ſhall
" not be able to ſee her without reccollecting in
" what manner this buſineſs was begun, continued,
" and terminated, between the royal houſe of Pruſ-
" ſia and that of Ruſſia. May it perpetuate the
" connections which unite us!

" I conclude by very tenderly thanking your
" royal highneſs for all the cares and all the trou-
" bles you have given yourſelf; and I beſeech you
" to be aſſured that my gratitude, my friendſhip,
" my eſteem, and the high conſideration which I
" have for you, will terminate only with my life.

" CATHARINE.

" Tzarſko-ſelo, June 11, 1776."

After having made a halt of twenty-four hours at Riga, and ſeen the manœuvres of ſeveral regiments encamped at ſome diſtance from the town, the two princes proceeded to Mittau, where they were received by the duke of Courland *. This duke was the ſon of the famous Biren, who had juſt finiſhed, in tranquillity, his long and ſtormy courſe. The grand duke received at Berlin the honours due to the heir of the imperial throne of Ruſſia †. Prince Henry preſented him to the king;

* The duke Charles.

† The 21ſt of July, the grand duke made his public entry into Berlin, accompanied by prince Henry of Pruſſia; in the following

king; who came out to meet them at the entrance of his apartment. The grand duke accosted him by saying:

"Sir, the motives which bring me from the extremities of the north to these happy dominions, "are the desire of assuring your majesty of the "friendship and alliance to subsist henceforth for "ever between Russia and Prussia; and the eagerness to see a princess destined to ascend the "throne of the russian empire; who, by my re-

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ing order: First appeared twenty-four postillions, sounding their horns, commanded by six secretaries of the post, all in complete uniform; after these came the company of butchers, then that of archers; after them a considerable body of merchants, distinguished by the elegance of their uniform: after these companies followed three superb state coaches, in which were, lieutenant-general Lentulus von Buddenbrock; count Verthern, minister of state; major-generals Sobeck and Prittvitz, with some other gentlemen. A detachment of life-guards, followed by a running-footman, immediately preceded one of the king's coaches, with eight horses, in which were the grand duke and prince Henry. This was one of the most superb carriages ever seen; and was followed by three others, in which were, general field-marshal count Romantzof Zadunaisky, general count Soltikof, and the chamberlain and gentlemen of his imperial highness. The procession was closed by an hundred men of infantry, being the guard of honour. The magistracy of the city received the princes under a triumphal arch, where upwards of seventy young maidens, dressed like nymphs and shepherdesses, presented the grand duke with verses, and a garland of flowers. The cannon fired, and the trumpets and other music sounded from the beginning till the grand duke entered the palace.

" ceiving her at your hands, I dare to promiſe " you, will be the more dear to myſelf and to the " nation over which ſhe is to reign; and chiefly to " ſee that boon granted me for which I have been " ardently wiſhing ſo long: the ſatisfaction of con- " templating the greateſt of heroes, the admi- " ration of our age, and the aſtoniſhment of poſ- " terity."

Here he was interrupted by the king, who replied :—" Inſtead of which, you behold, my prince, " a hoary-headed valetudinarian, who could never " have wiſhed for a ſuperior happineſs than that of " welcoming within theſe walls the hopeful heir " of a mighty empire, the only ſon of my beſt " friend, the great Catharine *."

The pruſſian monarch then turned towards marſhal Romantzof, and added: " Welcome, con- " queror of the Ottomans! I find a great reſem- " blance between you and my general Vinter- " feldt †."

" Sir," returned the marſhal, " I am ambitious " to reſemble even outwardly, a general who has

* Notwithſtanding this language, Frederic had written, and cauſed to be circulated in Berlin, an anonymous letter, in which he ſpoke of the foibles of the *grande* Catharine with ſo circumſtantial an accuracy, that it had very much the air of a ſatire.

† General Vinterfeldt was much beloved by the king of Pruſſia. It was he who ſaved the army which the hereditary prince, father of the late king Frederic William II, commanded in Luſatia, when he quarrelled with his brother.

" ſo

" ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in your ma-
" jeſty's ſervice."

" Oh," replied the king, " you have far greater
" reaſon to be proud of the victories which will
" hand down your fame to the lateſt poſterity *."

After a converſation, which laſted about half an hour, with Frederic, the grand duke went to the queen, in whoſe apartments many perſons of the court were aſſembled. Here he ſaw the princeſs of Wirtemburg. Prince Henry, in the name of the empreſs of Ruſſia, made a demand of the princeſs in marriage for the grand duke; and the ceremony of the contract took place the ſame day. After this there was an extraordinary court, at which were preſent all the foreign miniſters, and every perſon of diſtinction. The whole company ſupped with the queen, in great magnificence; and the next day dined with her majeſty.

Feaſts and entertainments ſucceeded without interruption, at Charlottenburg, at Potſdam, and at Sans-Souci: but that which muſt have moſt delighted marſhal Romantzof, was the view of the exerciſes of the garriſon of Potſdam. Frederic

* Frederic had a great eſteem for the brave Romantzof. The compliments he addreſſed to him, remind us of what he ſaid ſome years before to the hetman Cyril Razumofsky, who had alſo the title of field-marſhal. Razumofsky, was preſent at a review held before Frederic at Potſdam. That prince aſked him how he liked the evolutions!—Razumofsky, ſomewhat embarraſſed, made anſwer, " Sir, I am only a civil general."—" Oh!" replied Frederic, " we know nothing of that here."

made his troops perform their manœuvres by ſquare battalions, in imitation of the bloody battle of Kayal, where the Ruſſians gained a complete victory, over the Ottomans.

Prince Henry then accompanied the grand duke to Rheinſburg, where he gave him a feſtivity that laſted four days, and in which he diſplayed no leſs taſte than ſumptuouſneſs and magnificence *.

On the 3rd of Auguſt, after quitting Rheinſburg, the grand duke took leave of the royal family: when the king made him the following preſent: a deſſert ſervice, and a coffee ſervice, with ten vaſes of china, of the manufacture of Berlin; a ring with the king's portrait, ſurmounted with a diamond valued at thirty thouſand crowns; a ſet of pruſſian horſes; and four pieces of rich tapeſtry.

Paul Petrovitch returned to Peterſburg; and it was not long before the princeſs of Wirtemburg was there likewiſe. She embraced the greek religion, with the uſual formalities †, adopting the name of Maria Feodorovna, and was married to the grand duke ‡. Twenty years after their nuptials,

* At the departure of prince Henry, the empreſs gave him very magnificent preſents; as well as to all the perſons of his ſuite.

† The ceremony was performed by his eminence Gabriel, metropolite archbiſhop of St. Peterſburg and Novgorod.

‡ Of this marriage are born, four princes and five princeſſes.

1. Alexander Pavlovitch, born December 12, 1777. Married to Elizaveta Alexievna, born January 13, 1779.

2. Con-

tials, this imperial couple aſcended together the throne of Ruſſia *.

Catharine, having given a ſecond conſort to her ſon, extended the boundaries of her vaſt empire, and extinguiſhed the flames of rebellion in the remoter provinces, might now reaſonably be expected to repoſe in the tranquil enjoyment of her power. But repoſe was not made for her aſpiring ſoul; ſedate and quiet pleaſures could never ſatisfy her reſtleſs genius. She was ever on the purſuit of farther glory, or perhaps, as ſome will have it, of that celebrity which is not always real fame; and there was nothing which ſhe would not have ſacrificed to that ardent deſire. When her armies had ceaſed to gain victories beyond her frontiers, fame muſt prepare for her other triumphs. All Europe reſounded with the brilliant acts of her munificence; with the encouragements ſhe afforded to the arts and ſciences, the prizes which ſhe aſſigned to talents, the bounties which ſhe ſhowered upon

2. Conſtantine Pavlovitch, born April 27, 1779. Married Anna Feodorovna, born September 12, 1781.
3. Nikolai Pavlovitch, born June 25, 1796.
4. Mikhaila Pavlovitch, born January 8, 1798.
5. Alexandra Pavlovna, born July 29, 1783.
6. Elena Pavlovna, born December 13, 1784.
7. Maria Pavlovna, born February 4, 1786.
8. Ekatarina Pavlovna, born May 10, 1788.
9. Anna Pavlovna, born January 7, 1795.

* On the death of Catharine II. which happened November 17, 1796.

foreigners, and the numerous inſtitutions which ſhe created for augmenting the induſtry and the riches of her people. The juſt encomiums beſtowed on her by thoſe who had been benefited by her liberality, were re-echoed in the gazettes of every nation.

Since the regeneration which Peter the great began with his people, national cultivation had occaſionally been a matter of public concern. To that great prince the academical gymnaſium and the marine cadet corps owe their origin. Among his ſucceſſors the empreſs Anne and Elizabeth diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the proſecution of theſe important plans. During the reign of the former were laid the foundations of the greateſt ſeminary of education in the ruſſian empire, the land-cadet corps; and Elizabeth gave birth to the academy of arts, while ſhe enlarged the inſtitution of that of the marine, which had been founded by Peter.

But reſplendent as theſe beneficial works appear in the annals of the age, yet are they eclipſed by the later proviſions, if we purſue the hiſtory of ruſſian civilization and improvement through the times of Catharine II. This monarch, immortal in the chronicles of the world by numberleſs acts of her life, but peculiarly memorable in the minds of philanthropiſts and philoſophers, by legiſlation and the erection of ſchools, completed the plan of her great predeceſſor for the culture and improve-

ment

ment of the nation, upon such principles and to such an extent, as he himself, with his prodigious mind, could never have imagined possible in a period so near to his own. Guided by her hand, the mass of useful knowledge which had before been confined to the city of Petersburg, and kept more for ostentation than for public benefit, was distributed in thousands of smaller channels, diffusing itself over all the country, every where enriching the soil, and rendering it susceptible of a higher cultivation.

The public institutions for national improvements, now flourishing, owe their origin, for the greater part, but all of them without exception their enlargement and melioration, to the late empress Ekatarina Alexievna.

The following list shews the revenues of the public places of education, and the number of pupils boarded, clothed, and taught at the imperial expence.

The land-cadet-corps has	700 pupils,	and	200,000 rubles.
Sea cadet-corps —	600 —		120,000
Artillery cadet-corps	445 —		121,722
Grecian cadet-corps —	200 —		41,613
Page cadet-corps —	65		
Medicine and surgery school	30		
Land and sea hospital school	100 —		16,000
Mine-cadet-corps —	70 —		15,000
Clerical seminary			
Gymnasium of the academy	65		
Academy of arts —	325 —		60,000
Theatre school			

Navigation ſchool	—	65 pupils	
Young ladies' ſchool		480	— 180,000 rubles.
Popular and normal ſchools		3200	
Education-houſe	—	300	
Orphan-houſe	—	100	

According to this imperfect ſurvey, therefore, in the numerous places of education here named, about ſix thouſand eight hundred children of both ſexes in the reſidence are brought up at the expence of government. The ſums ſet down amount to ſeven hundred and fifty-four thouſand three hundred and thirty-five rubles *per annum*.

Having thus briefly taken notice of ſome of the inſtances of that beneficial care which the tranquillity of her empire allowed Catharine to beſtow upon its welfare, we now proceed with what was going forward at the palace.

Gregory Orlof being returned to court without having received a recall, ſeemed inſenſibly accuſtomed to ſee Gregory Alexandritch Potemkin occupying the firſt place about the throne of Catharine. Potemkin, proud of his influence, and more jealous of retaining the abſolute power he had acquired than the love of the empreſs, left her in the tranquil indulgence of her inclination for Zavadoſky. For the ſpace of a year and a half this latter had filled the place of ſubaltern favourite; when all at once his ambition was rouſed. He had before his eyes the example of Potemkin. He imagined, that, like him, he might paſs from the embraces

embraces of the empreſs into the poſt of prime miniſter. But in order to this, he muſt firſt turn out Potemkin. He ſet about it with the utmoſt ardour; and began by attempting to render the deſpotiſm of Potemkin odious to the ſovereign. He obtained the concurrence of diſcontented officers, envious courtiers, and artful women. Potemkin, informed of theſe intrigues, and poſſeſſing far greater abilities than his rival, reſolved to cruſh him at once: an opportunity for which was almoſt immediately furniſhed him by chance.

A young Servian, named Zoritch, an officer in a regiment of huſſars, came to Peterſburg to look out for promotion. He was tall, well-built, and adapted to attract the notice of a voluptuous woman. Potemkin, who knew the inconſtancy and warmth of Catharine, gave Zoritch a captain's commiſſion, and put him in the way of that princeſs. She did not fail to remark him. The next day Zavadofsky was diſmiſſed. Zoritch took his place.

Zavadofsky, who had already received many marks of bounty from the empreſs, had, at the inſtant of his departure, a gratification of ninety thouſand rubles, the addition of a penſion of four thouſand, and a conſiderable eſtate in land.

Zoritch at the ſame time received a landed property of the value of one hundred and twenty thouſand rubles, together with the cuſtomary preſents. This new lover, without education, with-

out experience, could give no umbrage to the haughty Potemkin. Contented with administering in obscurity to the pleasures of the empress, he took no other advantage of her favour, than what arose from securing the influence and authority of the man to whom he was indebted for it. It was only with Potemkin that Catharine balanced the fates of Europe.

CHAP. XI.

Relations between Russia and Denmark.—Conduct of the russian ministers at Copenhagen.—Success and misfortune of Struensee.—Character of Bernstorf.—Cession of Schlesvig.—State of Sweden.—Revolution of 1772.—*Voyage of Gustavus III. to St. Petersburg.—Hostile dispositions of the Turks.—Treaty of Constantinople.—Festivities.—Disasters.—Dismission of the favourite Zoritch.—Is succeeded by Rimsky Korzakof.—Transactions of* 1776 *to* 1779.

EVER since the elevation of Catharine II. to the throne of Russia, the court of Petersburg had unremittedly kept up a correspondence with that of Copenhagen, or rather had never ceased to exercise its influence over it. That influence, the work of Peter the great, had experienced some interruption

interruption under his ſucceſſors*. Catharine II. reſtored it to its full force. That princeſs had not inherited the animoſity and the projects of Peter III. againſt Denmark; ſhe neither ſent out her fleets nor her armies to attack it: but ſhe well underſtood the art of keeping it long in ſuſpenſe, between the hope of obtaining the entire ceſſion of Schleſvig, and the dread of being deprived of that important poſſeſſion.

The court of Copenhagen was attached by ſtill another intereſt to Ruſſia. She could not cheriſh the expectation of being able perfectly to ſecure herſelf againſt the ambition of the kings of Pruſſia and Sweden, otherwiſe than by the alliance of Ruſſia; ſhe accordingly made continual efforts for contracting more cloſely the ties of that alliance. Under the adminiſtration of the empreſs Elizabeth, it had often had recourſe to preſents for purchaſing the good-will of the miniſters and favourites of that princeſs, and ſometimes even to grant them penſions†. Could ſhe then be leſs generous towards thoſe of Catharine, or were they themſelves more difficult than the former? How-

* For example, under Catharine the firſt, whoſe daughter was married to the heir of the Houſe of Holſtein-Gottorp, between which and the houſe of Oldenburg there had been differences of long ſtanding.

† The court of Denmark made conſiderable preſents to the Shuvalofs, to the Nariſhkins, and to ſeveral other courtiers. It conferred penſions on the ſtate counſellors Volkof and Olſufief.

ever it be, as ſoon as that monarch thought herſelf ſafely fixed on her throne, ſhe reſolved to govern Denmark, as ſhe did the reſt of the north, and no longer took any pains to keep fair with it.

She began by making an ungrateful return to count Ranzau Aſchberg, who was miniſter from Denmark to Peterſburg in 1762. Ranzau having witneſſed the preparations made by Peter III. for the conqueſt of Holſtein, attached himſelf to Catharine's party, and even formed an intimate connection with prince Orlof. The empreſs made uſe of him in the endeavour to throw an odium on the warlike plans of her huſband; and Orlof let him into the ſecret of the conſpiracy that was carrying on againſt that prince. Flattered with this mark of confidence, Ranzau gave profitable advice to Orlof, and ſeconded him with all his might. The conſpiracy ſucceeded. Ranzau was at firſt well received by the empreſs; but coolneſs and even ſcorn preſently ſucceeded to theſe firſt movements of ſatisfaction, and Ranzau, thoroughly diſſatisfied with the empreſs and the favourite, ſet out on his return to Denmark.

Catharine, who doubtleſs took pleaſure in humiliating the court of Copenhagen, made choice of count Saldern for her envoy extraordinary to Denmark. Saldern, born in Holſtein, of very obſcure parents, had at firſt occupied an inferior poſt at Tritau, from which he was turned out on account of ſome malverſation; afterwards he came

to

to ſeek his fortune in Ruſſia. Of a bold and intriguing diſpoſition, he introduced himſelf to the court, and met with ſucceſs; and when the empreſs ſent him to Copenhagen, he behaved there with ſuch inſolence as to excite a more lively recollection of his extraction, and the diſgrace he underwent on being diſmiſſed from his former ſtation. He dared to ſpeak to the daniſh monarch and his miniſters in a tone of arrogance that was ſhocking to thoſe who heard him. He wanted to be informed of all the affairs that were carrying on, and pretended to direct in a dictatorial manner how they ſhould determine upon them. It was count Saldern, who, contrary to the opinion of the council and the wiſhes of the people, determined the king of Denmark to travel into England and France, a journey which was attended with conſequences ſo fatal to that feeble prince and his imprudent conſort!

Saldern was not content with gaining intelligence of all ſtate affairs; he intermeddled with the domeſtic concerns of the monarch, and directed the moſt trivial tranſactions. He placed about him perſons on whoſe devotedneſs to him he could at all times depend, and removed all who ſeemed adverſe to him. In a word, he exerciſed a deſpotiſm at once arrogant and trifling*.

When

* The young queen Caroline Matilda had as grande-maïtreſſe of her houſe, and who was at the ſame time her favourite, madame

When the empreſs recalled Saldern from Copenhagen, ſhe ſent in his place Philoſophof, a man not leſs haughty, and not leſs jealous of maintaining the aſcendant of his court. Philoſophof ſoon acquired in Denmark the ſame influence as his predeceſſor. This was indeed no difficult matter; the monarch was weak and his council timid. The ruſſian miniſter had only to pronounce the name of Holſtein, in order to make every thing ſubſervient to his will. We will here adduce one inſtance of the inquiſitorial authority which Philoſophof arrogated to himſelf.

The count de Saint-Germain* was appointed miniſter at war in Denmark. Being intimately connected with count Gœrtz, a german officer of very diſtinguiſhed merit, he offered him a poſt in the daniſh army, after having obtained the conſent of the monarch to that end. Philoſophof was informed of it; and whether he had any particular reaſon for entertaining an averſion for count Gœrtz,

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madame de Pleſs, an amiable and ſenſible woman. This lady, incenſed at the manner in which Saldern had ſubjugated the king, thought it her duty to make ſome remonſtrances upon the matter to that prince. The king was weak enough to go and talk of it to Saldern; he immediately demanded the removal of madame de Pleſs; and, in ſpite of all the ſolliciations of the queen, madame de Pleſs was diſmiſſed.

* The ſame who had left France to go and ſerve in Denmark, and who afterwards returned to France, where he was made miniſter at war.

whether

whether he was not willing that an officer of merit ſhould enter into the ſervice of Denmark, he immediately wrote to the king:—"I juſt now learn "that you have offered ſervice to count Gœrtz. "I have orders from my court to break off all "communication with yours, and to quit Copen-"hagen, rather than permit that intriguing and "dangerous man to remain with you." Nothing more was neceſſary for preventing count Gœrtz from reaping any benefit from the offers that had been made him.

Nevertheleſs, the influence of Philoſophof was diminiſhing in proportion as that of count Struenſee increaſed; and it was not till the moment of the bloody cataſtrophe of the latter, that the ruſſian miniſter reſumed his authority. Philoſophof at firſt made ſome ineffectual efforts for removing Struenſee from the court. He had a twofold motive of antipathy towards him. He knew that Struenſee was in oppoſition to the ruſſian party; and he could not forget that he had cauſed him to loſe the favours of one of the handſomeſt women of Copenhagen. Beſides, Philoſophof was the ſtay of the old count Bernſtorf*, devoted to

* Uncle of the preſent miniſter.—Philoſophof, who had occaſion to go and to take the waters of Pyrmont, would not ſet out without having obtained from the king of Denmark the promiſe not to make any change in the miniſtry of foreign affairs during his abſence. He took his departure. Bernſtorf was immediately diſplaced, and Ranzau Aſchberg put in his place; Ranzau

to Ruſſia, and removed from the miniſtry by Struenſee.

We ſhall not here attempt to follow the labyrinth of theſe intrigues. Every body knows the lot that befel Struenſee; who, from phyſician, became the admirer of the young queen Caroline Matilda, and prime miniſter; and whoſe pride and imprudencies created him enemies, who ſoon brought him to the ſcaffold*. It is well known that the queen herſelf was impriſoned, detruded from the throne, and exiled to Zell, where ſhe died of the exceſs of her grief†. The ruſſian miniſter beheld with ſatisfaction the ſucceſs of the conſpiracy plotted againſt Struenſee and the young queen; and he reaped the fruits of it. The

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Ranzau Aſchberg, whom the conduct of Catharine had rendered the irreconcileable enemy of Ruſſia.

* Frederic II. ſaid on being informed of the revolution of Denmark: "Struenſee is a blockhead. A man ought never "to form ſuch connections with queens, unleſs they reign in "their own right, and when he is generaliſſimo of their "troops."

† She died at the beginning of the year 1776. She had made herſelf much beloved by the people of Zell, by employing in acts of beneficence the greater part of the moderate penſion allowed her by the court of Denmark. The day on which the news of the death of that princeſs arrived at Copenhagen, there was to have been a ball at court. Endeavours were uſed to keep it a ſecret, that Caroline Matilda was no more; but the tidings were ſoon ſpread abroad: however, that circumſtance did not prevent the ball from going forward.

queen

queen dowager, Julia Maria*, who had brought about the revolution, held in her hands the reins of government. That princeſs was far from being ſo devoted to Ruſſia, as the unhappy king in whoſe name ſhe governed: but ſhe had too much ſenſe not to perceive the neceſſity of keeping upon good terms with Catharine and her artful miniſter.

Ranzau was diſmiſſed. His reſtleſs ſpirit diſturbed the queen, whom he had ſo faithfully ſerved. But though ſhe reſolved to remove him, becauſe ſhe was afraid of him, ſhe pretended to adopt this meaſure only out of regard to Ruſſia.

The old count Bernſtorf had been dead ſome time. Philoſophof was deſirous that the nephew of that miniſter ſhould fill the place that had been taken from him. He thought him worthy of it, no doubt, from his attachment to Ruſſia; the Danes had reaſon to think that he was the more ſo, from the ability he diſplayed in labouring for the good of his country.

Bernſtorf was of an advantageous ſtature, and had a noble figure. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf from his youth by his politeneſs, his modeſty, his

* Siſter of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick and the unhappy duke Anthony Ulric, who as we have already ſeen, was kept in priſon at Kolmogory, near Archangel. The ruſſian prince Peter, brother to prince Ivan, murdered in 1764, died on the 13th of January 1798, at Horſens in Yutland, where he had reſided ſince 1780.

cultivated understanding, and the most persuasive eloquence. In proportion as he advanced in age, his excellent qualities grew into a settled habit, and gained him the general esteem of all his countrymen. Living at the court, and addicting himself to the study of politics he was neither less simple in his manners, nor less frank in his discourse. As a statesman, he shewed great abilities; as a minister he faithfully kept his word. Diligent and indefatigable in business, he had a ready conception, and a happy manner of expressing his ideas*. An enemy to flattery, indifferent to pleasure, evincing an uncommon presence of mind and a temper always equal, he never suffered himself to be diverted from his purpose. He was never inflated by prosperity, nor dejected by misfortune. If his labours were crowned with success, he knew that he would shortly have fresh obstacles to surmount; if he failed, he perceived all the resources that fortune had still to offer him. His only defect, perhaps, was rather too much attachment to his opinions, which he always defended with warmth.

* Very easy of access, communicative and affable, he frequently gave audience: and there was scarcely a private individual in tolerable circumstances in all Denmark: whom he did not know, and to whom he was not personally known. Neither was there ever in any country a man more generally beloved and esteemed. It is well known, that the affranchisement of the danish peasants was owing to him, as well as the abolition of the negro-trade. A column is erected near Copenhagen, to testify to posterity the gratitude of the peasants.

But

But this very defect was of service to shew that Bernstorf was honest, and would never deceive. Sprung from a family of the electorate of Hanover, Bernstorf had a strong predilection for the british nation. He was also well acquainted with what was due to the court of Russia. Notwithstanding this, he was not less equitable towards other powers; and sought with not less zeal the advantages of Denmark, to which he consecrated all the hours of his life*.

No sooner had he entered into the ministry, but Bernstorf, faithful to the maxims of his uncle, bent all his efforts to obtain from Russia the cession of that† part of Holstein to which it had all along kept up his pretensions. He was not ignorant how much the corruption of the russian ministers was interested in holding Denmark in a state of dependence on them; but it was in the very excess of that corruption that he descried one of the means of its emancipation. He knew likewise, that the pride of Catharine could only with great difficulty be brought to abandon the smallest portion of her dominions; and he undertook to employ that very pride to bring her to consent to that surrender. Philosophof was first won over. Several persons in the higher departments of government, favourites, secretaries, and agents, made mercenary bargains for their speech

* Count Bernstorf died at Copenhagen the 21st of June 1779.
† Schlesvig.

or their silence. The rapacious Saldern, seduced by considerable presents, scrupled not to hold a language quite different from that which he had hitherto held, and took the negotiation on himself. He represented to the empress that it was beneath her dignity to preserve a weak principality, which made her dependent on the german empire. The imperious mind of Catharine, was indeed hurt at this species of subjection, thought that such language, dictated only by covetousness and self-interest, proceeded entirely from a tender concern for her glory. And this it was that induced her to make that surrender of all her claims upon Holstein, for the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which she relinquished, at the same time, to the prince bishop of Lubek: the treaty of exchange was signed at Kiel, the 16th of November 1773.

This event occasioned infinite joy at Copenhagen. The day on which the treaty had been signed was celebrated with pomp*. It was not the same at St. Petersburg. Catharine quickly discovered that she had been the dupe of Bernstorf's artifice. Saldern, whose malversations were

* Bernstorf received the most flattering testimonies of gratitude from his countrymen. The bounty of the court was extended to the whole of his family. The widow of the elder Bernstorf, his uncle, was honourably gratified, and received a letter from the king with the portrait of that prince, on a medal round which was inscribed, "In honour of the 16th of November "1773."

easily

eaſily proved, fell into diſgrace. But the empreſs conſoled herſelf for the loſs of Holſtein, by the aſſurance of preſerving in Denmark an ally always ſubmiſſive, and ever ready to ſerve her againſt Sweden.

More nearly connected with Ruſſia, Sweden has alternately excited the dread and ambition of the court of Peterſburg. Peter the great had reſolved to annihilate that power; and the victories of Charles XII. were no obſtacles to his making himſelf maſter of four of its fineſt provinces*. The ſucceſſors of that prince inherited his projects; and the ruſſian nation preſerves an implacable hatred againſt a people whom ſhe at length overcame, but who made her purchaſe her conqueſts by torrents of blood. War on any pretence againſt Sweden cannot fail of being agreeable to that ferocious and vindictive nation. Every means of cruſhing her rivals cannot but be eagerly cheriſhed by the court of Ruſſia.

The ſwediſh nobility, divided into two factions diſtinguiſhed under the names of Caps and Hats†, has but two much contributed to favour, by its diſſenſions, the ambition of Ruſſia. When count Panin, in the reign of the empreſs Elizabeth, was miniſter from that princeſs at Stockholm, the money

* Livonia, Eſthonia, Carelia, and Ingria.

† It is well known that the party of the Hats has always been devoted to France, as that of the Caps is to Ruſſia.

he profuſely ſtrewed, and the connexions which he formed*, gave him an aſcendant which he dexterouſly made the inſtrument of oppoſing the ſenate to the court. He directed the one by his intrigues, while he kept the other in awe by acting on their fears. Count Oſtermann afterwards imitated, and even ſurpaſſed him. More impetuous, more active than Panin, he kept Sweden in a ſort of vaſſalage; and it may be affirmed, that, while Frederic Adolphus† lived, the miniſter of Ruſſia reigned in Stockholm. The view of this miniſter, doubtleſs, was nothing ſhort of diſpoſing Sweden to become a ruſſian province; but he flattered the nobles with the hope of making it a republic, under the protection of Ruſſia; a project which had been long conceived both by them and by lord Carteret‡, the engliſh ambaſſador.

On his acceſſion to the throne, Guſtavus III. mortified at the influence employed by Ruſſia, and at the authority of the ſenate of Stockholm, attempted to free himſelf from this double yoke.

The party of the Caps, which prevailed in the ſenate, had alſo the preponderance in the diet of 1772. Proud of the power which it had ſo often abuſed under Frederic Adolphus||, it reſolved to enlarge the bounds of it under his ſucceſſor, and

* He was the known lover of the counteſs of Lœvenhielm, who had great influence in the party of the Caps.

† He died in 1771, and was ſucceeded by Guſtavus III.

‡ Upwards of fifty years ago.

preſcribed

prescribed to that monarch the form of an oath different from that exacted by the fundamental laws of the country. Gustavus III. signed his formulary without taking the pains to read it, reserving to himself doubtless, in so doing, a pretext for dissolving the engagement which he was forced to contract.

This prince, who had already placed all his confidence in the counts Scheffer* and Salza, acted in concert with them and the ambassador of France, the count de Vergennes, and they drew up together the plan of the revolution, as it was soon after executed.

The diet, in a very short time, began to conceive suspicions concerning the designs of the young king. It took umbrage at the resort of some officers, once or twice in every week, at the house of general Ramsay, who was known to be devoted to the court, and sent an order forbidding the regiment of guards from assembling for exercise, and even for parade.

Not yet satisfied with these precautions, the diet

‖ This party, supported by Russia, had seized upon all the lucrative places and all the posts of honour in the administration; it was continually making usurpations on the prerogatives of the crown, and intermeddled even in the petty affairs of his household. Would it be believed that it had the insolence to fix the quantity of wine that should be drank at his table, and that it deprived him of the liberty of choosing his own confessor?

* Charles Scheffer.

excluded from the ſenate all the members in oppoſition to the dominant faction. This vindictive proceeding ſerved only to fan the zeal of the old partiſans of the king, and to gain him new ones; for ſeveral of the nobles who were not partial to the royal authority, however, dreaded it leſs than they deteſted the tyranny of their rivals. Count Axel Ferſen was of that number. Famous for his eloquence and for his attachment to the old form of government, he loudly diſapproved of the innovations of the diet; but, thinking himſelf ſomewhat neglected by Guſtavus, he retired from Stockholm. The ſenator Hermanſon was endowed with leſs ſenſibility, or was treated more kindly. His talents and his influence were neceſſary to the views of the monarch. He dedicated them to his ſervice*.

Guſtavus, however, communicated to the perſons who were to execute the plan of his operations, only what was neceſſary for them to know, in order to ſecond him properly. His firſt ſtep was to make ſure of the fidelity of the generals of the army. But the majority of them appeared to him too ſtrongly attached to the old conſtitution, to admit of his opening himſelf to them on the change which he had in contemplation. Colonel Sprengporten and captain Hellechius were the only per-

* The ſenator Hermanſon framed a conſtitution upon a new model; count Scheffer prepared another; the king himſelf drew up a third.

ſons on whom he thought he might depend. He then reſolved to give the alarm of a ſham rebellion in two of the diſtant provinces, in order that the diet ſhould not pay attention to what was going forward in the capital.

Hellechius, on whom the king afterwards conferred the rank of general, and the name of Guſtafſchœld*, was at that time commander at Chriſtianſtadt, a city of Scania. He lived amicably with the officers of the garriſon, frequently gave them entertainments, and found no difficulty in making them promiſe to act in concert with him. He openly blamed the decrees of the diet, and declared himſelf in favour of the royal authority. The inhabitants of Chriſtianſtadt adopted the ſame ſentiments, and expreſſed themſelves in the ſame language with them. The report of theſe proceedings ſoon reached Stockholm. The diet took the alarm, and commiſſioned baron Rudbek, governor of the capital, to go and put a ſtop to the murmurs of the Scanians.

In the abſence of baron Rudbek, the command of Stockholm was committed to general Peſchlin†. This

* This name ſignifies, in ſwediſh, *the ſhield of Guſtavus.*

† General Peſchlin has been furnamed the Wilkes of Sweden. But he reſembled Wilkes more in his venality than in his talents. M. de Vergennes ſaid of that general, that he had no other defect than that of preferring imperials to louis-d'ors. It was obſerved by a well-known ſcholar and wit, on ſeeing the epitaph deſigned

This officer acquitted himſelf of his charge with ſo great vigilance as diſconcerted for ſome time the friends of Guſtavus. Every attempt was made to corrupt him; but in vain: his reſolution was already taken.

Fortunately for the king, baron Rudbek came and reſumed his command. He reported to his friends, that the gates of Chriſtianſtadt were refuſed to be opened to him; and that captain Hellechius had juſt publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the power which the diet had arbitrarily aſſumed. The dominant faction then reſolved to diſcover whether Hellechius acted by the king's orders, certainly hoping in that caſe to ſeize upon the perſon of the monarch.

Guſtavus was too great a maſter of diſſimulation to allow his ſentiments to be eaſily gueſſed. He anſwered one while with great firmneſs of mind, and at another with an air of indifference that deceived all the emiſſaries of the diet; and baron Rudbek, who thought he had thoroughly ſounded him, ſaid in public: "That the perſonage was by "no means dangerous." Nevertheleſs, the diet iſſued orders that the garriſon of Stockholm ſhould be augmented with the regiments of Uplande and of Sudermania.

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by Wilkes for himſelf, "A friend to liberty," that he was happy to ſee him ſo grateful, for liberty had certainly been a great friend to him.

It

It is certain that if these regiments had had time to enter into Stockholm, the revolution would not have been brought about; and much slaughter had been prevented. The guards were already discontented that other troops had been called in, and that the inhabitants, who had all taken up arms, and were devoted to the king, should be united to the guards.

Every moment now became of consequence. Colonel Sprengporten, who had been commissioned to conduct the troops from Finland, and whose arrival was to be considered as a signal to the king, had been detained by contrary winds. He did not arrive, and the time was lost in an expectation continually becoming more dangerous. Generals Salza, Scheffer, and Vergennes held a council, and determined Gustavus to accelerate his enterprise.

The execution of it was fixed for the following day. The very evening of that on which this resolution was taken, the king appeared at the opera *, amidst a great shew of nobility. He gave a grand supper to the court; and conversed with unusual gaiety. He afterwards retired to his apartment, where he passed a considerable part of the night in writing to his brothers and his friends.

After having finished these letters, he went to visit several of the corps-de-garde †, as he had done for

* The representation was Thetis and Peleus; the first opera that was played in the swedish language.

† When

for ſeveral nights before, in order to accuſtom the ſoldiers not to be ſurpriſed at ſeeing him at ſuch unſeaſonable hours. Being returned to the palace, he went calmly to bed, and roſe at his ordinary time. Count Levenhaupt, his premier ecuyer, being come to receive his orders, he told him, in confidence, to keep ready for him a greater number of horſes than uſual.

The ſenate met, according to cuſtom, at ten o'clock in the morning. Half an hour after this, the ſoldiers who came to relieve the guard, advanced into the court-yard of the caſtle; where they were no ſooner entered, than the king came down, ordered the gates to be ſhut, and addreſſed his guards in a very eloquent ſpeech *, in which he exhorted them to deliver their country from the tyranny of a few factious nobles. He proteſted that he was not ambitious of abſolute power, but required only a ſufficient authority for the maintenance of order and for enforcing the laws. This

† When he had entered the guard-houſe of the admiralty, an officer ſhut the door with ſo much violence as to put the lock out of order, ſo that the door could not be opened again. The king was uneaſy; but captain Hanſon, who commanded the poſt, gave the door ſuch a blow as broke it to pieces.

* One thing that gained Guſtavus III. the love of the ſoldiers and the peaſantry was, that, ſince Charles XII. he was the only king of Sweden who uſually ſpoke the language of the country. He expreſſed himſelf moreover with great elegance in that language; and compoſed ſeveral plays in it, much eſteemed by the nation.

assurance, accompanied with the promise of suitably rewarding such as should second his undertaking, had all the effect he desired. The guards replied by shouts of approbation. Gustavus immediately caused an oath to be administered to them; and the officers were obliged to follow the example of the soldiers.

Reckoning on the fidelity of his troops. Gustavus caused centinels to be placed about the hall of the senate, with orders to let no person go out. He himself proceeded to the grand corps-de-garde; and, having called the officers together, he related to them, in presence of the soldiers, what had just passed at the castle; and added, that he had no doubt in finding in them the same zeal as had been shewn by their brave comrades. All, with the exception of only one *, swore to maintain his cause.

Gustavus set out immediately to get possession of the arsenal. He called for his horses. Levenhaupt, who had them all in readiness, was proceeding to order them out, when baron Rudbek appeared at the door of the stables, and commanded the groom to desist.—"I receive no orders from you," replied Levenhaupt: "get out of the way, or I "shall make the horses run over you."—The governor went directly to the secret committee of

* It was baron von Cederstrohm. He made no answer but presented his sword to the king; upon which he was committed to prison.

the

the diet, with a complaint againſt Levenhaupt; and ordered the ſecretary Ellers to minute down in his regiſter-book, what he ſhould dictate to him. Ellers, who began now to ſuſpect what was about to happen, looked gravely at the governor, and, inſtead of doing as he was bid, ſhut the regiſter-book, ſaying that he believed he had nothing more to write.

Guſtavus next proceeded to the guard-houſe of the artillery, where the oath was eagerly taken. He ſent to invite the principal members of the diet to come to him; and at the ſame time ſent detachments of ſoldiers, with cannon, to every gate of the city, in order that none of the chiefs from whoſe oppoſition he had any thing to apprehend might eſcape. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, however, general Peſchlin found means to get away*.

The remainder of the garriſon of Stockholm ſoon joined the troops which Guſtavus had collected about him. Several members of the diet alſo came to the ſupport of the king. Baron Rudbek, and ſome others of the moſt violent, were arreſted. The duke of Heſſenſtein, who had been promiſed by his party to be declared regent, refuſed to take the

* A young man, named Hierta, ran after him for the purpoſe of ſtopping him. But the general took him by the arm, and ſaid to him with a ſneer:—"My poor Hierta, it muſt be a different "Hierta from thee to oblige me to give up my arms!"—For underſtanding this play upon the word, it ſhould be known, that in the ſwediſh language *hierta* ſignifies *heart*.

oath. But, as he was by no means dangerous, he was ſuffered to be at large on his parole.

Thoſe who eſpouſed the party of Guſtavus, tied a white handkerchief round their left arm. Preſently all the inhabitants of Stockholm adopted this ſign of adherence to the king: and the officers of the ſwediſh army wear it to this day. The aſſaſſin* alſo wore it, who ſince gave him his death's wound, by a piſtol-ſhot from behind.

The people ran in crowds to the king whereever he paſſed. His majeſty frequently ſtopped to harangue them †; always recommending order and moderation. His exhortations were not without effect.

As ſoon as Guſtavus had made himſelf maſter of all the poſts of the city, and was ſure of the adherence of the inhabitants and the ſoldiers, he aſſembled in his palace the members of the diet; and, after having reproached them with their diſſenſions and their ambitious vanity, he concluded by ſaying:—"It is high time to reſcue the ſwediſh people from ſervitude, and the throne from oppreſſion. It is time to put a ſtop to the corruption which diſhonours the majority of thoſe who ſit in the diet and the ſenate. It is notorious that they are always ready to ſacrifice the intereſts of their

* Ankarſtroem.

† Never was a king ſo fond of making ſpeeches as Guſtavus III.; and it muſt be confeſſed that it was an art in which he particularly excelled.

"country

" country to the gold of foreigners. If any one " of you can deny what I advance," added he, as he roſe up, " let him boldly ſtand forth, and con- " tradict me." No one thought fit to reply.

Guſtavus then read the plan of the conſtitution which he himſelf had drawn up. He was heard with the profoundeſt ſilence: and, when he had made an end of reading, he aſked the opinion of the ſtates, inviting them to deliver their obſerva- tions freely, in order to enable him to correct what- ever might be defective in his plan. But not one thought fit to produce his objections. Such as in their hearts were moſt diſinclined to the monarch, were the moſt unwilling to diſcloſe their ſenti- ments.

The new conſtitution was not adopted till the ſecond day after the revolution. Then it was that Guſtavus diſmiſſed the ſenators, who, for three days, had not been permitted to leave the hall, where they had been detained as priſoners. The greater part of them obtained places in the new ſenate.

All the officers who had joined the king's party were advanced one rank, and decorated with the military order. The principal inhabitants of Stock- holm received medals of gold or ſilver, and the pri- vilege of wearing them faſtened to the button-hole by a white ribbon. The ſubaltern officers alſo re- ceived medals, ſuſpended to a blue ribbon. The ſoldiers were not forgotten: Guſtavus, who was very

very ſcantily provided with money *, gave them all that he had to diſpoſe of.

When the members of the faction in oppoſition to the king had recovered from their firſt conſternation, they ſaw, with no leſs confuſion than ſurpriſe, that in defeating them, the monarch had employed but very feeble means. It muſt indeed have appeared very ſtrange to them, that at the very moment when the diet was maſter of all the forces of the kingdom, and filled with enlightened men, it ſhould ſuffer its power to be raviſhed from it, by a young prince who had not above three or four hundred ſoldiers; and who was thought to be of a very frivolous character.

One of the men whom the revolution afflicted moſt was count Oſtermann †, miniſter of Ruſſia. It deprived him of a great part of his influence; and, in order to regain it, he was continually encouraging the diſaffected to rid themſelves of the king's authority, to draw out the regiments that had remained faithful to them, and to convoke a new diet in ſome one of the remote provinces.

The turbulent chiefs of the Caps were but too much inclined to adopt theſe dangerous meaſures.

* The bankers of Stockholm refuſed to advance any money to the king. One alone, named Peil, lent him all the money he had. Guſtavus never forgot the obligation.

† The very day before the revolution, count Oſtermann ſent a courier to Peterſburg, aſſuring, that, notwithſtanding the diſturbances in Scania, the ſenate of Stockholm would preſerve its authority entire.

Guſtavus

Guſtavus was apprehenſive of it; and therefore had recourſe to artifice for repreſſing his factious ſubjects. He cauſed a report to be circulated, that a very conſiderable body of troops, under the orders of general Sprengporten, was juſt arrived within a few miles of Stockholm; and for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, he ſent off boats loaded with proviſions for theſe fictitious troops. At length the winds permitted Sprengporten to leave the coaſts of Finland, and to bring to Guſtavus a detachment from the garriſon of Sveaborg: but at his arrival he found that all was already quiet at Stockholm.

The provinces ſoon followed the example of the capital. The regiment of Upland, called by the diet, was ready to enter into Stockholm. General Ramſay went alone to meet it; and notwithſtanding the reſolution of ſeveral of the officers, carried his point in obliging it to take the oath of fidelity to the king*. The duke of Sudermania, and the duke of Oſtrogothia, brothers of the monarch, had been diſpatched to different parts of the kingdom, and found no difficulty in confirming the troops in their adherence to the royal cauſe. General Peſchlin was the only perſon who ſtarted any ſcruples: he was arreſted by the major of his own regiment; and the duke of Oſtrogothia re-

* It was at firſt intended to arreſt general Ramſay. But an old and brave enſign, named Normelin, much beloved by the ſoldiers, determined them to take the oath; and the officers were drawn on by their example.

ceived

ceived orders to ſend him priſoner to the caſtle of Gripſholm *.

The money that Guſtavus received from France †, ſerved to ſtrengthen his party, and to diminiſh the influence of Ruſſia; who was not backward however in diſtributing rubles among her adherents. Catharine heard with indignation the news of the change that had been brought about, in a country which ſhe was continually dividing, in order to ſubjugate at one time or other. She gave orders to count Oſtormann to take meaſures for reſtoring the government which Guſtavus had overturned. The miniſter ſet his agents to work with an impetuous ardour; but his efforts were ineffectual. Some explanations which he had with Guſtavus were terminated with harſhneſs; and at the commencement of 1776, Ruſſia having fitted out a fleet of gallies from Cronſtadt, an alarm was immediately raiſed at Stockholm.

1777. Guſtavus ſent to demand what might be the cauſe of this armament. He was anſwered in a manner by no means ſatisfactory. The gallies

* He was confined in the ſame apartment that had been the priſon of the ferocious Erick XIV.; and on the floor of it is ſtill to be ſeen, the track worn by the ſteps of that unfortunate king, by inceſſantly walking backwards and forwards from one corner of the room to the other.

† Hitherto the miniſters of France in Sweden had expended conſiderable ſums of money, in what were denominated ſecret ſervices. This money was afterwards given directly to the king.

did not proceed to act againſt Sweden; but the uneaſineſs of the king did not therefore ſubſide. At length, wiſhing to know what were the real intentions of the court of Ruſſia, he came to the reſolution of going himſelf to confer with the empreſs.

On the 16th of June 1777, he arrived at St. Peterſburg, under the name of the count of Gothland, and accompanied by count Ulrik Scheffer, count von Poſſe, Monck, with ſeveral others of his courtiers. Only baron von Nolken, his ambaſſador at the court of Ruſſia, had been appriſed of the voyage. Guſtavus alighted at this miniſter's hotel, and preſently after made a viſit to count Panin.

The empreſs was at Tzarſko-ſelo. Guſtavus went thither in the afternoon, and had an interview with her majeſty, in which they diſplayed to each other a cordiality equally feigned on both ſides.

Sumptuous entertainments were laviſhed on the ſwediſh monarch. The empreſs was reſolved to give him a high idea of the magnificence and pleaſures of her court. She often diſcourſed with him, ſtudied his character with her uſual penetration; and, before many days had elapſed, plainly perceived that preſumption was his principal defect.

Having made this diſcovery, Catharine directly propoſed to reap advantage from it, by inducing Guſtavus to embark in ſome dangerous enterpriſe. His qualities, more ſhining than ſolid, his affability,

lity, the pleaſures he was ever providing for his court, gained him the love of his people; but one moment's imprudence might leſſen him in their eſteem, and even render him odious in their ſight. The empreſs endeavoured to haſten that moment in the following manner.

Converſing one day with Guſtavus, her majeſty ſpoke of the obſtacles frequently experienced by ſovereigns in their attempts to improve the civilization of their dominions, by introducing ſome alterations in the dreſs, the cuſtoms, and the manners of the nation. She obſerved that it was not only difficult to bring about theſe changes, but extremely hazardous to think of ſucceeding in too abrupt a manner. She ſaid, with reaſon, that mankind being in general the ſlaves of habit, they beheld with averſion every new inſtitution; and, in favour of her opinion, ſhe omitted not to cite the example of Peter the great, and the reſiſtance oppoſed to that legiſlator, when he only wanted to induce the Ruſſians to cut off their beards.

Guſtavus replied, that if ſovereigns failed of ſucceſs in the changes they were deſirous of making, it was doubtleſs rather their own fault than that of the people; and that, how much ſoever the latter were attached to their habits, they would willingly ſacrifice them to the monarch who had the art of making himſelf beloved. He remarked, that mankind were leſs attached to their habits than to their fortunes, and their life; and that

they would nevertheleſs frequently expoſe both the one and the other from attachment to their ſovereign.—" But," added he, " in all things there is " a proper ſeaſon which muſt be ſkilfully ſeized. " When we let it ſlip, it is for want of attention ; " and then the ſucceſs does not correſpond with " our efforts. There is alſo a certain manner of " executing a deſign ; and it was becauſe Peter " the great had neither that manner nor the at- " tention neceſſary for ſeizing the tide of affairs, " that he experienced the difficulties which the " empreſs has juſt been noticing."

Catharine produced additional reaſons in ſupport of what ſhe had before adduced. She prolonged the diſcuſſion till Guſtavus began to imagine his ſelf-love was concerned to prove his aſſertions by facts : whereupon ſhe defied him to prevail on the ſwediſh nation to adopt a new mode of dreſs.

The monarch accepted the challenge : and ſome time after his return to Sweden, he introduced the theatrical dreſs that is ſtill continued to be worn at the court of Stockholm. He did not indeed enforce the alteration by a law. He contented himſelf with directing a letter to the governors of the provinces, in which he recommended them to employ no other methods but thoſe of gentleneſs and perſuaſion. He ſpeciouſly pretended, that the fantaſtic habit of his own invention was ſimilar to that of the ancient Swedes.

At the ſame time he took care to propoſe it only to the courtiers, the public functionaries, the military, and the burghers: the inferior claſs of the people were not even invited to put it on *. It was, however, partly adopted by them.

The viſit that Guſtavus made to Peterſburg, by no means augmented his eſteem for the empreſs, and confirmed her majeſty in the deſire of humbling this young and turbulent rival. However, as he had been received at Peterſburg with all the ſplendour and magnificence peculiar to that court; the preſents on his taking leave were in the ſame grand ſtyle with the entertainment; and the jewels of the eaſtern world loſt no part of their luſtre in the frozen regions of the north.

The autumn was attended with a moſt dreadful calamity to the city and neighbourhood of Peterſburg. It is a fault in the ſituation of that city, that it is liable to inundations; but that which now happened was by far more extenſive and deſtructive than any thing of the ſort which had ever been known before †.

It had ſeemed for ſome years paſt as if voyages to Peterſburg were the faſhion. Shortly after the

* This habit is at preſent ſcarcely worn except at court. During the time the author was at Stockholm, he very rarely ſaw it in private companies.

† The precautions for the prevention of ſuch fatal effects from ſimilar accidents in future have been already mentioned, p. 261, in ſpeaking of the police regulations.

departure of the king of Sweden, the waves of the gulf of Finland had the honour to waft to the mouth of the Neva the magnificent yacht of no leſs a perſonage than the ducheſs of Kingſton, famed for her beauty, her wit, her luxury, and her licentious adventures. This lady thought herſelf not unworthy of living at the court of Catharine*; and ſhe was received by that monarch with marks of the moſt gracious condeſcenſion, who aſſured her, at the ſame time, that her veſſel having ſuffered in the late violent tempeſt on her coaſts, the laws of hoſpitality required that it ſhould be completely refitted by her people, and at the imperial expence. Accordingly, all its ſtores and ſumptuous furniture were brought on ſhore, and lodged in the apartments of the admiralty, till the winter had ſet in; when, with the labour of ſome hundreds of people, and by means of levers and engines conſtructed for the purpoſe, the yacht was lifted on the ice, in which ſituation it was reſtored to its former condition. In the mean time, the ducheſs, inſtead of exhibiting that dignity of behaviour and elegance of manners which might have been expected from a perſon of ſuch exalted rank, ſeemed at times, by oſtentatious diſplays of her wealth, to rival the entertain-

* The ducheſs of Kingſton purchaſed an eſtate near Narva, the management of which ſhe committed to Garnofsky, her favourite. This Garnofsky became afterwards ſteward to prince Potemkin, and made a great fortune.

ments

ments of the palace; and at others, behaved with ſuch ſervility and meanneſs, as to excite univerſal contempt: the empreſs withdrew her attentions; and, uneaſy in the neglect and obſcurity in which ſhe was ſunk, the diſappointed peereſs ſet out for Italy, where ſhe was ſure of not wanting leſs haughty companions and idolatrous paraſites.

Since the election of khan Sahim-Gueray, the diſturbances of the Krimea had been continually increaſing. The Turks, incenſed at the flight of Doulet, abandoned his cauſe, and ſet up Selim-Gueray in his place. Thus there were at that time two new khans; one ſupported by the Turks, and the other by the Ruſſians. The latter, who had it in view to deliver the whole Krimea to the khan under their protection, in order more eaſily to deſpoil him of it, furniſhed him with a guard compoſed of their own ſoldiers: the Tartars were jealous of this guard, fell upon it by ſurpriſe, and ſlaughtered the greater part with their ſabres.

1778. Little was wanting before to bring the contending empires to a complete rupture; this then afforded ample cauſe for an open declaration of war. The empreſs immediately diſpatched freſh troops into the Krimea. Prince Prozoroſsky, who was placed at their head, attacked the Tartars who oppoſed Sahim-Gueray, and gave them a total defeat. His competitor Selim was forced to flee, and take refuge in the mountains.

During this time Staſchief, miniſter from Ruſſia

to Conſtantinople, was ſoliciting the Porte to acknowledge Sahim-Gueray; but the Porte, adhering to its engagements, and particularly to its oriental pride, reſolved to aſſert the cauſe of Selim.

Marſhal Romantzof then gave the divan to know, that the Krimea had put itſelf under the protection of Ruſſia, and that the empreſs would rather re-kindle the flames of war, than abandon Sahim-Gueray. This haughty meſſage was but ill-ſuited to gain the concurrence of the Turks; they ſeemed exaſperated at it, and reſolute to put the diſpute to the deciſion of the ſword. But they were reſtrained by a foreign influence. One ambaſſador of France * had induced them to enter into the preceding war: his † ſucceſſor prevented them from engaging in a new one. When the ruſſian miniſter was taking his leave of Conſtantinople, the greater part of the ulemas ‡ and the riglialis, of whom the divan was compoſed, were averſe to the meaſure.

The miniſters of the other powers were at the ſame time buſy in negotiating with the divan; and that council continued wavering between the divers impulſions it received. Perceiving the tardineſs and indeciſion of the Ottomans, the Ruſſians renewed their activity. By means of preſents and promiſes they gained new partiſans in the Krim, and concluded by making themſelves

* M. de Vergennes.
† M. de Saint-Prieſt.
‡ The lawyers.

maſters

masters of that country, while they talked of nothing but its independence. However, by preparing for war, they endeavoured to prevent it. Marshal Romantzof had an interview with the famous capudan pasha; but found it impracticable to come to any terms of accommodation. They parted dissatisfied with each other.

The empress relied on an assistance which she alone seemed able to procure. She had obtained from the sovereign of Persia, Kerim-khan, the promise of attacking the Turks in Asia, while she pressed upon them in Europe; but the death of that prince, who was assassinated by one of his officers, saved the Ottomans from a double aggression.

Catharine was more successful in the measures she took for securing peace. The divisions which harassed Germany on account of the succession of Bavaria, and the war which had just broke out between England and France, left no leisure to those powers to take any great concern in the contests between the Turks and the Russians. Even those who had induced the former to take up arms, advised them to lay them down, desirous that Russia should be at liberty to make common cause with them.

In the mean time the divan continued still undetermined. The people of Constantinople called out for war; they even broke out in murmurs against

againſt the capudan paſha for returning to the ſea of Marmara without having fought the Ruſſians.

The ruſſian miniſter Staſchief was attacked on the road not far from Conſtantinople by two galiongis or turkiſh ſailors, with the intent to kill him. The capudan paſha cauſed them to be ſeized and ſtrangled on the ſpot: but their horrid attempt was a ſufficient indication of the diſpoſitions of the multitude.

The Turks could not eaſily prevail on themſelves to pardon Ruſſia for her ſucceſſes and her invaſions, as inceſſantly recalling to their mind their multiplied defeats, and the humiliating peace they had been forced to ſign. They could not behold with complacency the Ruſſians almoſt entirely maſters of the Euxine, diſplaying their flag even under the walls of Conſtantinople, and extending their flouriſhing commerce from ſea to ſea. The independence of the Krimea was a ſubject of grief: its ſubjugation to the Ruſſians exceeded their patience.

Some other differences had ariſen between the court of Peterſburg and the Ottoman Porte. By the laſt treaty of peace, the Ruſſians had obtained ſeveral privileges for the greek chriſtians diſperſed in great numbers throughout the extenſive countries of Moldavia and Valakhia. From that period ſeveral inhabitants of the oppoſite ſhore of the Danube, who profeſſed the greek religion, abandoned

doned their country to go over into the provinces where toleration prevailed. All these christians were far more attached to the power to which they were indebted for the new advantages they enjoyed, than to that by which they had so long been oppressed. Russia was aiming at more: she was secretly practising means for rendering them entirely independent on the Porte: and for carrying that point she began by insisting that the princes or governors * of Moldavia and Valakhia should not be liable to be deposed on any pretence whatever.

This affranchisement appeared no less unjust in the eyes of the Turks, than the cession of the Krimea. However, the first measures taken by the ambassador of France had not been without effect. Those which followed were attended by still greater success. He prevailed on the divan to release several russian vessels, which, for more than a year, had been detained in the turkish harbours; and not long afterwards a new treaty was signed † by his mediation.

1779. In pursuance of this treaty, the Russians desisted from some of their exaggerated claims in regard to the provinces of Moldavia and Valakhia, as well as of the Krimea, which they promised to evacuate. The Porte granted those of its subjects who professed the greek religion the privileges to

* They bear the title of despots.

† The 21st of March 1779.

which

which they laid claim. It acknowledged the independence of the Krimea, and the ſovereignty of khan Sahim-Gueray, and ſtill farther enlarged the privilege that had already been granted the Ruſſians to navigate the ottoman ſeas.

The zeal ſhewn by the french ambaſſador to accelerate the ſignature of this treaty was founded on the wiſhes of his court to deprive Great Britain of the ſupport it derived from Ruſſia. The attempt was crowned with ſucceſs. The cloſe alliance that had ſo long ſubſiſted between London and Peterſburg, if not broken off, was at leaſt greatly weakened; and the French were ſecure from ſeeing in arms againſt them a power which ſtood indebted to them for its peace.

Catharine was ſo ſatisfied with this peace that ſhe ſent magnificent preſents both to her miniſter at Conſtantinople and to the ambaſſador of France*; the

* The ruſſian miniſter Staſchief received a property in land, on which were a thouſand peaſants. M. de Saint-Prieſt was decorated with the order of St. Andrew, with the ſtar of it compoſed of diamonds. The empreſs alſo ſent him her portrait ſet with brilliants, as well as ſome remarkably fine furs, and a ſuperb ſolitaire for madame de Saint-Prieſt: the whole together valued at fifty thouſand rubles. M. de Saint-Prieſt received, beſides, three bills of exchange of at leaſt five thouſand rubles each, and has ſince had a penſion ſettled on him of ſix thouſand rubles. Being at Stockholm at the commencement of 1792, he put an advertiſement in the gazette, ſignifying, that he had diamonds to diſpoſe of to the amount of fourteen thouſand rix-dollars. Upon this there appeared bills ſtuck up in various parts of the city, announcing:—

the former of whom alſo preſented to the grand ſignor and the favourite ſultana jewels to the amount of three hundred thouſand rubles in value. The grand vizir and the principal members of the divan were likewiſe favoured with teſtimonies of her munificence and that of Potemkin*.

Great reaſon the empreſs undoubtedly had to congratulate herſelf on a treaty which left her at liberty to indulge, without fighting, her ever-increaſing views of invaſion, and to proſecute her ſchemes of extending the commerce of her vaſt dominions! The inequality of climate, the defect of population, and the unproductiveneſs of a part of the ſoil, are no impediments to the immenſe reſources afforded by theſe countries to commerce. Situated in Europe and in Aſia, the Ruſſians may eaſily traffic with all the world. The Caſpian ſerves them as a communication with Perſia and India; the ſea of Azof and the Euxine open to them a channel for the conveyance of the productions of the north into the Mediterranean, and for bringing to the north thoſe of the Levant; Kamtſhatka on one ſide offers them a way to America, and on the

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ing:—" Political forfeits to be ſold, to the value of fourteen " thouſand rix-dollars. To inquire of the count de Saint-Prieſt." —He is now prime-miniſter to Louis XVIII. at Mittau.

* Potemkin, who had lately been created prince of the holy roman empire, wrote a letter of thanks to M. de Saint-Prieſt, and another to the grand vizir, to whom he alſo ſent a watch ſet with diamonds.

other

other to China and Japan: in a word, the White-ſea and the Baltic afford them a correſpondence with moſt of the nations of Europe, to which their commerce is become indiſpenſable.

Free to navigate ſo many ſeas, and dominatrix of ſome, Catharine could not endure that any other power ſhould pretend to a right of maſtery in them; and one of the cauſes that contributed to detach her from the Engliſh was, the jealouſy they raiſed in her breaſt, by attempting to force from every power an acknowledgment of the ſuperiority of their flag.

Nevertheleſs the commerce with the Engliſh was too advantageous to the empreſs to admit of her conſenting to loſe it. While ſhe refuſed them aſſiſtance, ſhe was oppreſſing them with civilities. While ſhe calmly looked on as they were loſing a part of their colonies, ſhe invited them to come and fetch from her ports the products they could no longer obtain from the continent of America; and was delighted to ſee their veſſels arrive at Archangel in greater numbers from year to year.

She welcomed, at the ſame time, the american ſhips; and in oppoſition to the ſollicitations of the britiſh miniſter, ſhe granted them the free navigation of the Baltic.

A few years before *, ſhe had concluded with the court of Verſailles a treaty, in virtue whereof a

* In 1766, the marquis de Beauſſet was at that time miniſter from France to St. Peterſburg.

french factory was to be eſtabliſhed at Archangel; but the French, whoſe commercial views were directed almoſt entirely towards the Antilles, derived no advantage from that permiſſion. In time they perhaps may learn, that the commerce of the north, leſs deſtructive than that of the burning climes, makes them lucrative offers, if not ſo brilliant, at leaſt on terms more equal and more ſure.

We have paſſed over a great number of banquets and grand entertainments given by the empreſs in the courſe of the preſent and the foregoing years; as well as ſome other events of inferior moment to thoſe that have been deſcribed. We are ſtill in time to mention a few of them.

The anniverſary of the acceſſion of the empreſs to the throne, and the birth-day of the grand duke*, were celebrated with extraordinary magnificence; and ſignaliſed by a numerous promotion of general officers.

Catharine alſo celebrated, with pomp, the ſeveral feſtivals of her orders of chivalry; and conſented to diſcharge the functions of ſovereign of the order of the Bath, by conferring the badges of that order on ſir James Harris †, to whom they had been ſent by the britiſh monarch.

After having ſtruck him on the ſhoulder with a ſword richly ſet with diamonds, and having ſaid, conformably with the ſtatutes of the order: "Au

* The 9th of July. † Now lord Malmeſbury.

"nom

" nom de Dieu, ſoyez bon et loyal chevalier,"—ſhe preſented him with the ſword, addreſſing him in theſe words:—" Pour vous temoigner combien " je ſuis contente de vous, je vous fais préſent de " l'épée avec laquelle je vous ai imprimé le carac- " tére de chevalier *."

Some few days before †, the empreſs had given a grand entertainment in honour of the ſea-fight at Tſcheſmè, and the burning of the turkiſh fleet. On this occaſion a ſuperb maſquerade and ſupper were given in the ſummer-gardens ‡; at which the

* " In the name of GOD, be a good and loyal knight."—" To " teſtify how well I am ſatisfied with you, I make you a preſent " of the ſword with which I have ſtamped you with the order of " knighthood." Preciſely the ſame ceremony was obſerved at the knighting of ſir Charles Whitworth in 1795.

† On the feaſt of St. John.

‡ This ſingular denomination ſeems not, as ſome have ſuppoſed, to have been adopted from the cool and ſhady walks, or in contradiſtinction to the winter-garden at the palace; but probably it was formerly called the garden of the ſummer-palace, whence by corruption it has got its preſent name. It properly belonged to the imperial ſummer-palace, which was a large wooden pile of building, and has been entirely taken down by the emperor Paul, having long been unworthy of its appellation, but was at times frequented by Catharine for a few days, on removing earlier than uſual from her ſummer-retreat at Tzarſko-ſelo. The gardens which are now entirely devoted to the uſe of the public, are not indeed very ſpacious; but notwithſtanding the uniformity of the dutch taſte in which they are laid out, they contain ſome intereſting parts. The beautiful walks, ſhaded by old venerable lime and linden trees, afford an agreeable refuge from the oppreſſive heats

the company remained till very late in the enſuing morning.

During

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heats of the long ſummer days, and ſuch a glorious view of the Neva as perhaps is not to be matched in the moſt ſplendid towns of Europe. The eye of the connoiſſeur is likewiſe not without its gratification. Some of the principal walks have ſtatues of marble and alabaſter at proper intervals along the ſides, brought from Italy in ſome of the former reigns. But the fineſt pieces of art are contained in a grotto, which now only ſpeaks its antient magnificence by its ruins. Facing this grotto are two ſtatues by Conradini, Religion and Faith, to which the judges of the art aſſign an honourable place among the curioſities of the reſidence. They are female figures in wet drapery, with their faces veiled; and the noble ideal form juſt appearing through the marble veſture, fills the beholder with the more charming amazement as his imagination completes the forms, which in the repreſentation are only as it were ſuggeſted, by a ſtandard not attainable in reality. Theſe excellent pieces and other choice productions of the italian chiſel ſeem here, with the grotto, to be conſigned to oblivion and the admiration of ſpectators of taſte. Not ſo another ſtatue, which obtrudes itſelf upon the view in the principal walk: Luxury, repreſented by a female without any drapery, ſtanding in a bold attitude, and which, playing the wanton, with alluring ſmiles, may be farther deſcribed, as the porcupine has been by the poet:

Seſe jaculus, ſeſe arcus, ſeſeque pharetra.

Theſe gardens are always much frequented during the ſummer, by all whoſe buſineſs or inclination keeps them in town. But their moſt brilliant days are at Whitſuntide, when all people of faſhion and the public in general make it a ſort of duty to aſſemble in them. At this ſeaſon perſons of quality of both ſexes even forſake their country ſeats, to figure in the grand allée of the

During the reign of Catharine, the riches and ſplendor of the ruſſian court ſurpaſſed the powers of deſcription: it united the profuſion of aſiatic pomp with the ingenious invention of european luxury. On court-days, and more particularly on feſtivals, a very great multitude of perſonages ſurrounded the empreſs, ſome going before, and ſome following her; whoſe rich and ſparkling clothes were covered with a prodigality of precious ſtones. This produced an effect, of which the brilliancy of other courts can only give a faint idea.

The court-dreſs for the men, was a coat *à la Françaiſe*; and for the ladies, a gown and whalebone boddice; the former with long ſleeves, and a ſhort train, of a different colour from the boddice. The ladies, in general, dreſſed according to the prevailing modes at Paris. Among the diſplays of luxury exhibited by the ruſſian nobility, nothing is more ſtriking to foreigners, than that vaſt quantity of diamonds and precious ſtones of which we have juſt ſpoken; and the rather as in the other countries of Europe diamonds and jewels are peculiarly appropriated to the ſtately appearance of ladies. Here men and women ſeemed to

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ſummer-gardens, where all are dreſſed as at the opera and chapeau bas. Thoſe who do not chooſe to appear in the height of the faſhion, confine themſelves to the ſide-walks. The granite columns and iron work erected by Catharine the ſecond at the entrance to theſe gardens, are a monument of her taſte, and at preſent has not its equal in the world.

have

have challenged one another who ſhould be moſt loaded with diamonds. This expreſſion is not exaggerated; for numbers of the principal people of faſhion were almoſt covered with them: their buttons, their buckles, the ſcabbards of their ſwords, their epaulets, conſiſted of diamonds; and many perſons even wore a triple row of precious ſtones round the border of their hat. This paſſion for jewels had even deſcended to the rank of private individuals, who are fond of aping the great; and yet, after all, are but common people: in this claſs of perſons were families who poſſeſſed as many diamonds as the nobles. The wife of a ruſſian burgher would bring her unhappy huſband to ruin, only that ſhe might make her appearance with a head-dreſs or girdle of pearls or precious ſtones, to the value of ſome thouſand rubles.

On the grand ceremonial days, it was the cuſtom of the empreſs to dine in public. On theſe occaſions ſhe uſually wore a diamond-crown of immenſe value; the ribbons of St. Andrew and of St. George both over one ſhoulder, with the collars of St. Alexander Neſsky, St. Catharine, and St. Vladimir, and two ſtars, one above the other, on her breaſt; as grand-maſter of the two firſt-mentioned orders; with all which, it may well be imagined, the empreſs made a ſhining appearance. The courtiers followed the example of the ſovereign; and it may be ſafely affirmed, that no court

in Europe, that of Spain not excepted, was equally brilliant.

From the mention of these decorations it is seen, that in Russia there are five orders of chivalry: St. Andrew, St. Catharine, St. Alexander Nesky, St. George, and St. Vladimir. To these must be added, the order of St. Anne of Holstein; which, however, the empress never conferred, leaving that prerogative to the grand duke as duke of Holstein. The three first were instituted by Peter the great: the order of St. Andrew, in 1698, in order to animate the nobility, in his war against the Turks; choosing that saint as patron of the order, from the russian tradition, that St. Andrew introduced christianity among them. The knights of this order, among whom were the kings of Sweden and Poland, wear the figure of the saint on an enamelled cross, formed by the imperial eagle: at the corners of the cross are the four letters, S. A. P. R. Sanctus Andreas Patronus Russiæ; and in the middle an A. the initial of the empress Anne, who framed the statutes and assigned the habit of the order. The feast is held on the 30th of November. In 1790 it had sixty-three knights.

The order of St. Catharine was instituted in 1714, in memory of the assistance received by Peter I. from his consort, in the camp on the Pruth. Those writers who pretend that this order is worn by both sexes, are mistaken: it is bestowed only on ladies;

ladies; and among them are several of distinguished station in Germany. They wear a narrow red ribbon, edged with silver, to which the figure of the saint is suspended, set with diamonds, and a silver star of eight points, on the left breast, with the inscription, *Amore et fidelitate*. In 1790 their number was twenty-five.

The order of St. Alexander Nefsky was instituted by Catharine I. in 1725. The badge is a golden eight-pointed star, enamelled with red, with the figure of St. Alexander in armour on horseback. At the four corners of the cross are as many gold spread-eagles, crowned. A broad, deep red, watered ribbon, is worn over the left shoulder: the motto is in russian characters, which signify, *For labour and patriotism*. The feast is held on the 30th of August. The monarch as grand-master, and the knights, attend mass at the Kazan church, at eleven o'clock, whence they go a pilgrimage on foot, to the monastery of the saint, situate at the distance of three versts; where, at the silver shrine of St. Alexander, they attend mass again, and then return to the winter-palace, where they partake of a sumptuous dinner, under a discharge of cannon. The whole foot-way, from the Kazan church to the Nefsky monastery, is laid with boards, covered with red cloth. However, for several years, latterly, the empress has gone the evening before the festival to the monastery, and made her devotions, as the knights do on the day of the order. In the

year 1790 they amounted to an hundred and twenty-two.

Catharine II. founded the two orders of St. George and St. Vladimir. The former, in 1769, is a militry order, and divided into four claſſes. Its badges are a black ribbon, with a George and dragon. Its holiday is the 26th of November. In 1790, this order was worn, of the firſt claſs by eight, of the ſecond by eleven, of the third by forty-ſix, and of the fourth by four hundred and ninety-ſix knights. A ſpecific number of each claſs enjoy penſions, of from one hundred to ſeven hundred rubles.

The order of St. Vladimir; or, as it is in the patents, of the prince equal to an apoſtle Vladimir, was inſtituted by her late majeſty the 22d of September 1782, her twentieth coronation day. Its chapter is held in the church of St. Sophia. The ſtar is of eight points, interchangeably of gold and ſilver, having a red area, bearing a croſs, with the ruſſian letters, C. P. K. B. *Svætago Ravnoapoſtelnago Knæſa Vladimira*, *i. e.* the holy apoſtle-like prince Vladimir. Round the badge are the words: *Polſa*, *Tſcheſt i Slava*, Utility, Honour, and Fame: with a ribbon of two black and one red ſtripes. The number of knights in 1790 was ſeven hundred and ſixteen.

The holſtein order of St. Anne, founded by Charles Frederic duke of Holſtein, in 1735, in honour of his conſort the ruſſian princeſs Anna, has

has for its badge a red enamelled croſs, having on one ſide the figure of St. Anne, on the other the letters, A. I. P. F. *Amantibus Juſtitiam, Pietatem, Fidem*, ſuſpended to a broad red ribbon, edged with yellow, worn over the right ſhoulder, with an embroidered ſtar on the breaſt. In 1790 it was worn by two hundred and fourteen knights.

The number of knights therefore, of all the ſix ruſſian orders, at the beginning of 1790, was one thouſand four hundred and eighty-ſeven.

Beſides theſe, there were ladies of the portrait, who wore the miniature of the empreſs, ſet with diamonds.

During the winter, the empreſs gave maſquerades at the palace, to which perſons of all ranks might come. Sometimes the number of tickets given out was eight thouſand. On hearing this, it might be ſuppoſed that the preſſure of the crowd would be uncommonly troubleſome; but that was not the caſe; twenty magnificent halls, ſplendidly illuminated, afforded ſufficient room to all this multitude. In the middle of one of theſe ſpacious apartments was an incloſure, made by a low baluſtrade, more adorned than all the reſt: this was appropriated to the nobility and the motley-coloured group of courtiers. One elegant room, called the Apollo, able to contain a conſiderably greater number of people than the great room at Ranelagh, and of an oval form, was appropriated to thoſe burghers who had not been preſented at court: in another, where

tea and other refreſhments were ſerved, were card tables, at which all perſons might ſit down without ceremony. Every one was at liberty to keep on his maſk or to lay it aſide. The nobility univerſally wore dominos.

The Ruſſians of the inferior claſſes at theſe balls wore the uſual dreſſes of their reſpective provinces; only ſomewhat more decorated than common. Theſe various habits, ſome of which were extremely ſingular, produced a greater diverſity of figures, than ever the richeſt imagination invented in the maſquerades of other countries. Yet here were never ſeen ſuch groups of maſqueraders as are met with in Italy, Spain, and Conſtantinople; where one company, for example, repreſents a village-wedding, or a paſſage from the national hiſtory, or a dramatical piece of ſatire aimed at ſome particular perſon of the court. Her majeſty appeared commonly at theſe balls, as on the other occaſions already mentioned, at about ſeven in the evening, and retired at about eleven.

But to proceed with our hiſtory. Catharine, who now thought herſelf at the eve of a new war with the Turks, was deſirous of animating by her preſence the zeal of her mariners. Accordingly, embarking in a yacht at Peterhof, ſhe went on board the ſquadron then cruiſing between Cronſtadt and Kraſna-gorca.

Admiral Barſch, who commanded this ſquadron,

as well as his officers, received ſeveral marks of the monarch's approbation.

A great part of the city of Tver being conſumed by fire, the empreſs immediately granted to the inhabitants whoſe houſes were burnt, a relief of one hundred thouſand rubles.

Peterſburg, at this time, experienced a diſaſter which the bounty of the ſovereign could not repair. One of the farmers of the brandy-duties *, who

* A german author gives the following information concerning the immenſe conſumption of ſpirituous liquors in the north. The diſtillery forms a conſiderable part of the internal commerce and of the revenues of Ruſſia.—Theſe ſpirituous liquors are diſtinguiſhed into three ſorts; that diſtilled from corn, that of Dantzic, and thoſe of France and Spain. The common people of Ruſſia uſe only the firſt ſort. All the nobles have the right to diſtil it: but they may not ſell it. The empreſs reſerved that privilege to herſelf. The conſumption of this brandy amounts to twelve millions of vedroes *per annum*. The government ought to gain, upon the ſale of this quantity, twenty-four millions of rubles: whereas it really gains only five; that is to ſay, three ariſing from the governments of Peterſburg and Moſco, and two from Siberia and the other provinces; the ſurplus of the profit being detained by the fraudulent contractors.—Foreigners, and the nobility, conſume only the brandy of Dantzic, and thoſe of France and Spain, which are preferred. The purchaſe-money of the contract of this latter, which expired in 1774, amounted to one hundred and ſixteen thouſand rubles. The profit on it to the farmers was ſeven hundred and ſixty thouſand rubles. Their privilege allowed them to import it only in ankers: but, inſtead of brandy, they procured ſpirits of wine, which they mixed with water. They moreover engaged merchants to import brandy; and the importation dues which they received have often ariſen to two hundred thouſand rubles.

had

had made an immenſe fortune by his contract, propoſed to give a feaſt to the inhabitants of the city, in teſtimony of his gratitude to thoſe who had contributed to enrich him. The victuals, the beer, the brandy, which he cauſed to be ſerved, coſt him twenty thouſand rubles. The populace flocked in crowds to the place adjoining to the ſummer-gardens, where he gave this enormous repaſt; and, in ſpite of the precautions that had been taken, diſturbances ſoon aroſe among this motley throng of gueſts. The contentions firſt began about the places and the better kinds of proviſion ſpread upon the board; from ſtruggles and noiſe they proceeded to blows. Several perſons were killed; others became ſo intoxicated, that they fell aſleep in the ſtreets, and periſhed by the ſeverity of the froſt. The number of people who loſt their lives amounted in all to at leaſt five hundred.

Catharine, amidſt the military and political cares that crowded on her mind, always found time for peaceful inſtitutions and pleaſures. That the empreſs was even an authoreſs is well known. She ſometimes took up the pen; but it was always to inſtruct and to improve. Her "Inſtruction for "the code of laws," on which ſuch general praiſe has ſo juſtly been beſtowed, the generality of her ordinances, manifeſtos, &c. were all, during the whole of her long reign, compoſed and drawn up by herſelf. Amidſt the perplexities of a thouſand

different affairs, ſhe threw her thoughts upon paper with great facility; for her mind was ever cheerful and even: witneſs her printed letters in ſeveral languages. She promoted one great aim of moral improvement by her comedies, in which fanaticiſm, ſuperſtition, and enthuſiaſm, were properly attacked, both with gravity and ridicule. Happy the country where reaſon has the voice of the monarch on her ſide! One word from ſuch lips is of more conſequence than the moſt ſolid demonſtrations, which folly, after all, cannot comprehend, and to which vanity will never hearken.

But there were other amuſements to which Catharine remained ever attached. Though ſhe frequently changed her lover, her diſpoſition to love was always uniform. The Servian Zoritch had fixed it for a twelvemonth, in which time he had received conſiderable preſents, and the rank of major-general. Potemkin was neither jealous of the fortune nor the favours enjoyed by Zoritch. On the contrary, he gave him his ſupport, fearing leſt his place might be filled by ſome more dangerous man. Catharine herſelf ſeemed daily more ſatisfied with her favourite. But all at once ſhe gave him orders to quit the court.

Zoritch immediately ran and complained to Potemkin; who had the aſſurance to aſk the empreſs for what reaſon ſhe had diſcarded her humble friend?—"I was fond of him yeſterday, and to-"day I am not," replied the empreſs. "Perhaps,

"if

" if he were ſomewhat more informed, I might " love him ſtill. But his ignorance puts me to " the bluſh. He can ſpeak no other language " than ruſs. Let him travel into France and " England to learn foreign languages."

Potemkin reſpected the caprice of the ſovereign. Zoritch ſet out for France *.

The ſame day Potemkin, buſy in looking out for a ſucceſſor to Zoritch, and going to paſs the evening at the hermitage, perceived with aſtoniſhment behind the chair of Catharine a chamberlain of whom he had not the leaſt knowledge. It was Rimſky Korzakof. From the humble rank of a ſerjeant of the guards, Korzakof had been ſuddenly raiſed to that of aid-de-camp-general to the empreſs, and honoured with all thoſe marks of bounty which the generoſity of that princeſs uſually conferred on her favourites.

Korzakof was endowed with a handſome figure, and was of a very elegant ſtature †; but having neither talents nor attainments, he was no more capable than Zoritch of making attacks on the in-

* Zoritch ſpent ſome time at Paris, in the hotel of M. Simolin, the ruſſian ambaſſador. At preſent he lives at Schklof, a ſmall town in the government of Mohilef, in White Ruſſia, on the Dniepr; where he has a theatre, and lives at an enormous expence. With an annual income of two hundred thouſand rubles, he is conſtantly plagued by the importunity of creditors.

† Rimſky Korzakof has ſince been promoted to the rank of general, and fought againſt the French in 1799.

fluence

fluence and authority of prince Potemkin. One ſingle fact will ſuffice to delineate his character. As ſoon as he had obtained the place of favourite, he thought that a man like him, among the other arrangements in his houſe, ought neceſſarily to provide himſelf with a library. Accordingly, he ſent for the principal bookſeller of Peterſburg, and told him that he wanted books to put up in the grand houſe of Vaſſiltſchikof, of which the empreſs had juſt made him a preſent. The bookſeller aſked him what books he would pleaſe to have. "You underſtand that better than I," returned the favourite; "that is your buſineſs. You know "the proper aſſortments; I have deſtined a large "room to receive them. Let there be large books "at the bottom, and ſmaller and ſmaller up to "the top: that is the way they ſtand in the em-"preſs's library*."

CHAP.

* "But how did you contrive to find a ſufficient quantity of "the large books for the bottom ranks, ſince folios are now ſo "much out of faſhion?" ſaid a perſon who happened to call at the bookſeller's ſhop, while his counters and floors were loaded with the books juſt come from the binders for executing this curious order. "Oh, I went to my warehouſe, and brought out "a number of old german commentators on the bible, and "writers on juriſprudence, where they had lain in quires ever "ſince they were ſent to my predeceſſor for a bad debt of a "bankrupt bookſeller at Leipſic. There they are. See how "gay they look in their new coats. I have only to take care to "put up a ſet of Voltaire, of Rouſſeau, of Buffon, and other "faſhionable

CHAP. XII.

Military preparations on the part of Ruſſia.—War between Pruſſia and Auſtria.—Congreſs and peace of Teſchin.—Armed neutrality.—Journey of the empreſs to Mohilef.—Journey of Joſeph II. to St. Peterſburg.—Journey of the hereditary prince of Pruſſia to St. Peterſburg.—Diſmiſſion of Korzakof.—Lanſkoï becomes favourite.—Travels of the grand duke in France and Italy.—1779, 1780—1784.

IT was not enough to have renewed the peace with the Ottomans. The empreſs was irritated againſt Auſtria, whoſe miniſter at Conſtantinople had made ſome futile efforts for engaging the Porte to declare war againſt Ruſſia. The moment of vengeance ſeemed now to be drawing nigh.

The death * of Maximilian Joſeph, elector of Bavaria, had furniſhed the court of Vienna with an opportunity for reviving its old pretenſions to that electorate. The elector palatine, Charles

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" faſhionable french authors, in conſpicuous parts of the library, " to be at hand in caſe ſome inquiſitive viſitor ſhould aſk for " them; and as for the reſt, their elegant outſides, as is common " in the world, muſt be a paſſport for any deficiency within."

* The 30th of December 1777.

Theodore,

Theodore, who ſucceeded Maximilian Joſeph, and who wiſhed to avoid a war, acknowledged the rights, though more than doubtful *, of the houſe of Auſtria, conſented † to allow Joſeph II. and Maria Thereſa to take poſſeſſion of Bavaria, the one as emperor of Germany, and the other as queen of Hungary.

The duke of Deux Ponts, who was the next of kin to the elector Charles Theodore, immediately entered his proteſt againſt a treaty injurious to the rights of his houſe. The elector of Saxony pretended likewiſe an intereſt ‡ in the ſucceſſion of Maximilian Joſeph; and laſtly, the duke of Mecklenburg laid claim to an expectative granted to his family upwards of three centuries ſince §, and always evaded.

Theſe three princes united in ſolliciting the king of Pruſſia to take up the defence of their rights, or rather he himſelf ſecretly induced them to put the cauſe into his hands. Irritated at the aggrandiſe-

* They pretended that Bavaria devolved to them as a lapſed fief, and as the ſucceſſion of Albert of Auſtria. But in purſuance of an imperial ſentence of the year 1429, Albert had ſolemnly renounced his claims; and what is far more in point is, that the preſent houſe of Auſtria is not deſcended from that Albert.

† By a convention ſigned at Vienna the 3d of January 1778.

‡ The elector of Saxony was ſon of the ſiſter of the elector of Bavaria, Maximilian Joſeph. He demanded forty-ſeven millions of florins for his claim to the allodial ſucceſſion of the emperor Lewis.

§ In the year 1502.

ment

ment of the houſe of Auſtria, and ingenious in ſeizing all occaſions of enſuring the elevation of his own, he reſolved to ſhew himſelf in the eyes of Europe as the aſſertor of the liberty and the conſtitution of the germanic body. That monarch, who had formerly laughed at his being put under the ban of the empire, as elector of Brandenburg, now pretended that it was unjuſt to diſpoſe of Bavaria without taking the advice of all the electors, and declared himſelf reſolved to maintain the germanic conſtitution.

At firſt a long paper war was carried on between Frederic and Joſeph II. which terminated in more ſerious battles. Four hundred thouſand men now drew their ſwords; and blood began to flow in the ſummer of the year 1778*.

Catharine directly cauſed a reſcript to be delivered to Maria Thereſa and Joſeph II. demanding the relinquiſhment of the invaſion of Bavaria, and requiring an immediate pacification. Moreover declaring, "That ſhe was concerned in the tran-
"quillity of Germany, both as a ſovereign of a
"country which had a natural relation with that
"part of Europe, and as having amicable connec-
"tions with the majority of its princes, eſpecially
"with that prince who had felt himſelf obliged
"to take up arms for putting a ſtop to the pro-
"ceedings of the court of Vienna.

* On the 14th of July, general Wurmſer attacked the advanced poſts of the Pruſſians at Naſchodt.

"That,

" That, not to inſiſt on the political law of " Germany, ſhe would adopt no other rule than " that of natural equity, and the principles on " which all ſociety is founded. That in purſuance " of theſe principles, ſhe found that the whole " empire was unjuſtly agitated, becauſe the houſe " of Auſtria had thought fit to revive claims for " ſeveral ages extinct, and omitted in the treaty " of Weſtphalia, which treaty is the baſis and " bulwark of the germanic conſtitution. That " the infractions of the court of Vienna expoſed " the whole empire to imminent danger. That " the fall of that empire would neceſſarily occaſion " a violent commotion in all the neighbouring " ſtates of Germany, a derangement of the order " and equilibrium of all Europe, and in the ſequel " perhaps even a great danger to Ruſſia. That " it behoved every wiſe and prudent ſovereign to " foreſee and to obviate theſe calamities, and that " the court of Ruſſia could adopt no other prin- " ciples than thoſe which the court of Vienna had " adopted on ſimilar occaſions.

" That, in conſequence thereof, the court of " Ruſſia invited the empreſs-queen and the em- " peror to come to an amicable ſettlement, agree- " ably to the laws and the conſtitution of the " empire, with the king of Pruſſia and the other " princes concerned in the ſucceſſion of Bavaria; " becauſe otherwiſe the empreſs of Ruſſia would " be obliged to pay a ſerious regard to what ſhe

" owed to her empire, to the intereſts of the princes " who had requeſted her friendſhip and aſſiſtance, " eſpecially to her obligations towards her allies, " and, in a word, that the ruſſian troops would " join the pruſſian army."

Catharine might eaſily have put this threat in execution. She had then in Poland three armies, one of which, conſiſting of forty thouſand men, and commanded by prince Nicholas Repnin, had already received orders to hold itſelf in readineſs for marching.

The court of Vienna foreſaw the deſigns of Catharine. Previous to the reception of her declaration, it had expedited a courier to invite her to act, in concert with the court of France, as mediatrix of the differences that had ariſen between Auſtria and Pruſſia.

A congreſs immediately met at Teſchen. The general who had been deſtined to hurl the bolts of vengeance by Catharine and Frederic, prince Repnin, appeared there in quality of a miniſter of peace. Breteuil was preſented in the name of France*. The houſe of Auſtria obtained that part of Bavaria, which is ſituated between the Danube, the Inn, and the Saltz; and peace was reſtored to Germany†.

* Counts Zinzendorf and Cobentzel attended there for the emperor and the empreſs-queen. Baron Hertzberg was ſent thither by the king of Pruſſia.

† The 13th of May.

By

By this treaty, the late convention between the court of Vienna and the elector palatine was totally annulled; and the former reſtored all the places and diſtricts which had been ſeized in Bavaria, excepting only the territory appertaining to the regency of Burghauſen, which was ceded to the houſe of Auſtria as an equivalent or indemnification for her claims and pretenſions. That court likewiſe gave up to the elector palatine all the fiefs which had been poſſeſſed by the late elector of Bavaria; and agreed alſo to pay to the court of Saxony, as an indemnification for the allodial eſtates and other claims on that ſide, the ſum of ſix millions of florins (amounting to ſomething near ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling), to be paid in the courſe of twelve years, without intereſt, by ſtipulated half-yearly payments. Some ceſſions were likewiſe made by the elector, in favour of the houſe of Saxony; and ſome equivalent ſatisfaction promiſed by the emperor to the duke of Deux Ponts, on his ſucceſſion to the double electorate. All former treaties between the court of Vienna and the king of Pruſſia were renewed and confirmed; and the right of the king to ſucceed to the margraviate in the remote younger branches of his own family, upon the failure of iſſue in the immediate poſſeſſors, (a right which had been only called in queſtion through the vexation of the late conteſt,) was now fully acknowledged and eſtabliſhed. The ducal houſe of Meck-

lenburg was put off without any other advantage in lieu of its claims, than the promiſe of ſome new privilege with reſpect to appeals.

Upon the whole, few treaties of peace have been conducted upon more equitable principles, than thoſe which ſeem to have prevailed in the preſent. The territory acquired by the houſe of Auſtria was not inconſiderable; being about ſeventy engliſh miles in length, and ſomething from about half to a third of that extent in breadth. This acquiſition lies between the Danube, the river Inn, the Saltz, and the borders of Auſtria; including the towns of Scharding, Ried, Altheim, Braunau, Burghauſen, Fryburg, and ſome others; forming, all together, a ſtrong barrier, and a fixed unequivocal boundary, the limits of which are deciſively marked out by thoſe great rivers, between that archduchy and the preſent dominions of Bavaria. This acceſſion of territory, the court of Vienna ſeemed, however, to have purchaſed at ſomething about a fair price; partly to be paid in money, and partly by a renunciation of old, vexatious, and otherwiſe inextinguiſhable claims, which however, in general, unproductive, would for ever have kept open a ſource of litigation, trouble, miſchief, and war. To which may be added, that the eſtabliſhment of a fixed and permanent barrier and boundary between the two ſtates ſeems to be a meaſure fraught with greater advantage to the elector of Bavaria, as the weaker prince, than to the

the archduke of Auſtria, who is ſo abundantly his ſuperior in ſtrength. It may likewiſe be farther obſerved, that ſeveral parts of the ceded territory were, what may be called, debateable land; the titles being diſputed, oppoſite claims laid, and they having been heretofore, at different times, objects of great conteſt.

Such was the early and happy termination of the German war. A war of the greateſt expectation; not more from the great power, than from the ſuperior abilities of the principal parties.

1780. But while the north of Europe was reſuming its wonted tranquillity, the ſouth was ſtill experiencing the effects of the violent commotion which had proceeded three years before from the northern regions of America. England, France, Spain, and Holland, were continually ſending forth their armaments, and tinged with blood the ſeas of the two hemiſpheres, in order to decide whether or not the inhabitants of Boſton and Philadelphia ſhould be free.

War, and eſpecially a maritime war in Europe, always quickens the ſprings of the commerce of the north. It is from the north that the major part of the commodities neceſſary to the conſtruction and the fitting out of naval armaments, as well as ſupplies of corn, the conſumption whereof, on ſuch occaſions, becomes more conſiderable, are obtained. The Dutch, long ſince in poſſeſſion of the commerce of the Baltic, to avoid letting the veſſels they em-

ployed in it fall into the hands of the engliſh, navigated them under the neutral flag of the Danes*. But that flag was but little reſpected by the privateers; and the ſhips that hoiſted it were frequently carried to London or Plymouth. Thoſe of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck, met with the ſame fate. The merchants of thoſe towns, therefore, implored the protection of Catharine; and, in order the better to prevail with that monarch, they had the art, by diſtributing money among her miniſters, to draw upon them her favourable regards.

To this ſhe had been already diſpoſed by her own true intereſt. She never loſt ſight of the means of extending and improving the trade of Ruſſia; and, in order to increaſe its activity, ſhe had juſt aboliſhed the extraordinary duties on corn, and permitted the exportation of it from Archangel to Riga. Beſides, her pride was hurt at ſeeing that the Engliſh paid no reſpect to the ſhips that were freighted in her ports, and that they even ſometimes preſumed to ſtop thoſe which ſailed under her flag.

Another motive completely determined her to protect the navigation of the north. Vergennes, whoſe intrigues at Conſtantinople had formerly irritated Catharine, had lately acquired conſider-

* One merchant alone of Copenhagen, named König, proved to be proprietor of no leſs than ſix or ſeven hundred veſſels.

able influence with her, by urging Saint-Prieſt to determine the Turks to ſubmit to the ſacrifices exacted by Ruſſia. Vergennes had by this means gained his point in depriving the Engliſh of the aſſiſtance of the ruſſian fleet. This was not enough. He formed a plan more vaſt, and more worthy of a real ſtateſman. In a word, he drew up the plan of the armed neutrality, to which almoſt all the potentates of Europe ſucceſſively acceded *.

Well acquainted with the haughty ſpirit of the empreſs, Vergennes artfully contrived to intereſt her in the execution of his project. He wrought upon the miniſters of Denmark and Sweden to open it to her. They performed their taſk with ſo much addreſs, that ſhe made no heſitation to adopt it; and ſhe almoſt perſuaded herſelf to believe it a creature of her own invention; or at leaſt ſhe ſeemed willing to perſuade others to think ſo.

From that time forward ſhe reſolved to uſe force for protecting her ſhips; and ſhe propoſed to the court of Copenhagen and to that of Stockholm,

* Of ſuch commanding import was the empreſs in the affairs of Europe, that in the american war, ſir James Harris, after having in vain ſollicited her effective interference in our behalf, ſaid to her, "Well, we will talk no more of actual ſuccours, "only give us the countenance of your name; only put out a "manifeſto; do but *ſay* that you will help us." The very next manifeſto that came out was that declaratory of this armed neutrality.

to equip each of them a ſquadron, which ſhould combine with hers for the defence of their neutrality.

The wiſhes of Denmark had anticipated this invitation. The prudent* miniſter who guided the councils of that kingdom, ſenſibly felt the importance of an alliance, without which the Engliſh would have derided all the armaments of the north. He promiſed to ſubſcribe to the treaty propoſed by the empreſs.

Sweden was leſs prompt in acceding to it. She was withheld by France herſelf, who dexterouſly engaged her to ſtart ſome difficulties, in order to excite Ruſſia to remove them. Previous to the equipment of a combined fleet, Guſtavus required to be explicitly informed of the manner in which this combined armament was to protect the commerce of the reſpective ſtates. He wiſhed to know whether each of the neutral powers was to defend the veſſels of his allies, or only thoſe of its own people. Laſtly, he aſked in what caſes the neutral powers were to make repriſals with thoſe who were at war, and whether the aggreſſions of any one of theſe powers were to be neceſſarily ſeconded by the others.

The empreſs replied, that a preliminary convention ſhould be made between all the neutral powers, in order to ſettle how beſt to ſecure a

* Count Bernſtorf.

free navigation to the merchant ſhips of thoſe powers, provided that thoſe ſhips were not loaded with prohibited goods. She added, that it would be neceſſary that each power ſhould protect the veſſels of the reſt; and that, as to repriſals or aggreſſions, they ſhould be ſeconded, whenever they were practiſed, according to the conditions eſtabliſhed by the confederate neutrality; but that, above all, this alliance ſhould be maritime, and confined ſolely to the protection of commerce.

Satisfied with theſe explanations, Guſtavus gave orders to his miniſter at Peterſburg, to ſign the treaty of the armed neutrality; which the court of Denmark had already done ſome days before*.

Catharine had not waited for the acceſſion of theſe two potentates for notifying her reſolution to the courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid. She delivered to them by her ambaſſadors, a declaration, in which ſhe complained, that the law of nations had been violated towards her ſubjects; that their commerce had been confined, their navigation interrupted; and that, to prevent ſuch abuſes for the time to come, ſhe was preparing to aſſert by force the rights which undoubtedly belonged to neutral nations†. The cabinet of St. James's

* The plenipotentiary of Sweden put his ſignature to it the 21ſt of July; the plenipotentiary of Denmark, the 19th of that month.

† The great principle of this act, and of that confederacy to which

James's replied, that, from the very commencement of the war, it had iſſued the moſt preciſe and

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which it gave birth, is, that free bottoms make free goods; and this is carried to the length of ſuppoſing, that neutral ſtates are entitled to carry on their commerce with the belligerent parties in a ſtate of war, with the ſame degree of convenience, eaſe, and ſafety, which they might have practiſed in time of peace. Nor is this all: it is farther laid down, that the neutral bottom has a right to convey, and to render free, all things from any one part of a belligerent ſtate, and even coaſtwiſe, to another without let or impediment, ſaving only ſuch matters as might be deemed contraband in conſequence of the ſtipulations of former treaties. It needs ſcarcely to be noticed, that the courts of France and Spain expreſſed the utmoſt approbation of a ſyſtem ſo exactly calculated and immediately ſuited to their own views, and which they could at a future time find means eaſily to ſhake off. They accordingly were little leſs than loſt in aſtoniſhment at the conſideration of that wiſdom, juſtice, liberality of ſentiment, and benevolence, which had produced ideas ſo ſimilar to their own. As they did not fully comprehend the new ſyſtem, nor know to what extent it was to be carried, they waited with deference for thoſe farther regulations or explanations which Catharine might thing proper to communicate; but were convinced, from the congeniality of ſentiments on both ſides, that nothing could happen, in the intermediate time, on theirs, which would afford any diſſatisfaction to her. The ſolitary court of London was obliged to ſuppreſs her indignation at an injury which ſhe could not at preſent reſent nor remedy. She therefore only expoſtulated with the court of Peterſburg on the conſtant attention and regard which ſhe had hitherto, and on every occaſion, ſhewn to her flag and commerce; ſhe declared a continuance of the ſame conduct and diſpoſition; and ſhe reminded Ruſſia of the reciprocal ties of friendſhip,

and unequivocal orders to all commanders of veſſels reſpecting the ruſſian flag. Notwithſtanding this aſſurance the Engliſh continued for ſome time to ſtop the ruſſian ſhips, and try the validity of their captures by the britiſh court of admiralty. The empreſs refuſed to acknowledge the competency of that court. The conteſt was beginning to take a ſerious turn. The engliſh put an end to it, by releaſing the veſſels.

Pruſſia, Auſtria, even Portugal, concurred with

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friendſhip, and the common intereſts by which they were mutually bound. The principal claims of the confederate powers were thus ſpecified: 1. That all neutral veſſels may freely navigate from one port to another on the coaſts of the nations at war. 2. That the effects of the belligerent powers ſhall be ſafe in all neutral veſſels, with the exception of prohibited mercantile goods. 3. That the empreſs underſtands, by prohibited mercantile goods, ſuch as are ſpecified in the articles x. and xi. of her treaty of commerce with Great Brtian, extending her obligation in that reſpect to the other powers at war. 4. That by a port blocked up is to be underſtood only a port ſo ſtrictly watched by the ſhips of the powers which attack it, that to enter it would be dangerous. 5. That theſe principles ſhould be admitted as the ſole rule whereby to decide the legality of prizes. The empreſs added, that, in publiſhing theſe articles, ſhe delcared that to enforce their execution, and to protect the honour of her flag, the ſecurity of her commerce, and the navigation of her ſubjects, ſhe was about to arm the greater part of her naval forces. That this meaſure ſhould not in any wiſe injure the neutrality, which ſhe was diſpoſed to obſerve as long as ſhe ſhould not be provoked and obliged to exeeed the bounds of a juſt moderation, and the moſt perfect impartiality.

the

the other neutral ſtates; and thus a power, which, however great in other reſpects, was of inferior note in a maritime view, was now ſeen dictating a new code of maritime laws to mankind, in many reſpects eſſentially differing from thoſe which had for ſeveral hundred years been eſtabliſhed among commercial nations, and going directly to the overthrow of that ſovereignty, or pre-eminence on the ocean, which had been ſo long claimed and maintained by Great Britain; but which, that power not being in a ſituation directly to contravene, ſeemed now to be ſettled as a part of the law of nations.

The miniſter * of England at Peterſburg warmly exerted every means he could employ to break the league of the neutral powers, or at leaſt to prevent Ruſſia from protecting the veſſels of the other nations. He left no reſource untried with prince Potemkin †, to induce him to determine the empreſs to alter her purpoſe. But the aſcendant of

* Sir James Harris.

† Potemkin had five nieces, of the family name of Engelhard. The eldeſt married count Branitzky, grand general of the crown of Poland; the ſecond married prince Sergius Fedorovitch Gallitzin; the third, lieutenant-general Peter Shepelof; the fourth, count Paul Skavronſky; the fifth had, for her firſt huſband, Mikhaïla Potemkin her couſin, on whoſe death ſhe married prince Nicolaï Boriſſitch Yuſupof. The former of theſe ladies had a great ſway over their uncle, and paſſed for his miſtreſſes. The engliſh miniſter was laviſh of preſents to them of every kind.

Potemkin

Potemkin had ſtill leſs authority over her than the calls of ambition. However, the diligence and ingenuity of ſir James Harris were baffled by a ſtratagem of a ſingular nature.

When that miniſter had diſcovered that attempts were making to induce the empreſs to propoſe the armed neutrality, he drew up a long memorial, to counteract the project, which he gave to prince Potemkin, who promiſed to recommend it to the ſovereign. Whether the britiſh miniſter thought there was no need of making a myſtery of ſo ſlight a circumſtance, or whether Potemkin mentioned it, the partizans of the neutrality were ſoon informed of it. They immediately gained over to them a certain demoiſelle Guibald, a forward and ſhrewd young woman, who was about the nieces of prince Potemkin, and lived on a very familiar footing with him. This girl took the paper by playful ſtealth out of the prince's pocket, and carried it to her employers. They immediately enriched it with marginal notes, which victoriouſly anſwered all the objections of the britiſh miniſter; and the writing was then ſucceſsfully returned to the place whence it had been taken.

The empreſs, on having the memorial for her conſideration, very naturally ſuppoſed the notes had been added by prince Potemkin; which ſerved only to increaſe her deſire to unite the powers of the north in a league againſt England.

Sir James Harris was preſently after informed of the

the method that had been adopted for making his memorial ſpeak againſt himſelf; and it chagrined him ſo much, that he fell ill upon it*.

Prince Potemkin all this while was at the ſummit of favour. Every day ſome new preſent from the ſovereign increaſed his immenſe riches; and ſome title of honour was added to the long liſt of his dignities. The court, the army, the navy, all were ſubmiſſive to him. He appointed the miniſters, the generals, the favourites, or removed them at his pleaſure; and his benevolence and his animadverſion were entirely directed by caprice.

With all the outward appearance of a rough and often brutal frankneſs, Potemkin was extremely artful. He domineered over the empreſs, magiſterially dictating to her according to his will; but at the ſame time appearing to exiſt only for her ſervice. He treated with inſolence the veteran commanders and the great perſonages of the empire, whom he thought he could affront with im-

* It brought on a jaundice, which laſted a long time. This fact was variouſly related: ſome, who were in the confidence of prince Potemkin, affirmed that mademoiſelle Guibald, at the inſtigation of count Panin, conveyed the papers from under the prince's pillow; and, after looking into the contents, replaced them with ſo much caution, that it was ſome time afterwards before he diſcovered how he had been betrayed. Either way, it is a very edifying inſtance of the manner in which events of the greateſt importance to a nation, or even to all Europe, may be ſometimes brought about.

punity

punity, while he kept on good terms with all thoſe whom he knew to poſſeſs ſpirit or cunning*.

Of all the generals marſhal Romantzof was the only one who would not humble himſelf before Potemkin†. Accordingly, the latter dreaded his inflexibility as much as he envied the glory of the conqueror of the Turks. The averſion he had for marſhal Romantzof extended even to counteſs Bruce, his ſiſter, one of the moſt intimate confidants of Catharine. By living familiarly with

* About this time, among the people who were in the confidence of prince Potemkin, the famous major Semple was inferior to none. By his advice the prince introduced ſeveral new regulations into the army, both in regard to dreſs and manœuvres; and, had it not been for ſome manœuvres of another nature, ſuch as writing to the ducheſs of Kingſton, (as ſhe declared to the writer of this) that he would come in the night with ſome ſoldiers and break into her houſe, unleſs ſhe ſent him a certain ſum of money, &c. there is not a doubt but he would have ſoon been raiſed to the rank of a general officer, or appointed conſul at whatever place he choſe. Mr. Newton too, an Iriſh officer, afterwards guillotined at Paris, was much about his perſon. Prince Potemkin uſually rewarded his favourite counſellors by ſending them away as conſuls: he had at one time not fewer than two hundred, in different parts of Turkey, the Levant, the iſlands and ſhores of the Archipelago, &c. conſiſting of perſons who had indirect concerns in trade, and others of various deſcriptions. After his diſmiſſion from the confidence of prince Potemkin, on his way to England major Semple laid the merchants of Peterſburg, Narva, &c. under heavy contributions, by a variety of impoſtures.

† Marſhal Ivan Soltikof and prince Igor Dolgoruky, refuſed to cringe to the favourite.

counteſs

counteſs Bruce, and profeſſing great friendſhip for her, Potemkin could keep a vigilant attention over her converſation and all her proceedings, and promiſed himſelf to be able ſoon to deſtroy her influence at court whenever an opportunity ſhould occur. It was not long before chance threw one in his way.

Korzakof was at that time beloved by the empreſs. The benefits, the honours, which ſhe heaped upon him, demanded his gratitude, if they could not inſpire him with love; but he was made up of nothing but thoughtleſſneſs and vanity *. Counteſs Bruce, who ſaw him every day with the empreſs, took a fancy to him. She could not, however, immediately give the reins to her inclination. The conſtraint in which the favourites of Catharine paſſed their time ſcarcely allowed them opportunities for being untrue. Potemkin kindly aſſiſted the counteſs in removing all obſtacles. He took upon him the office of her confidant; he contrived the means of her having ſecret interviews with Korzakof; and, though he was fond enough of this favourite, he reſolved to ſacrifice him, in hopes of involving in his fall the ſiſter of Romantzof.

Potemkin's plan ſucceeded. The empreſs was

* Of all the favourites of Catharine, Korzakof was the moſt oſtentatious in his dreſs; and it was to him ſhe gave the greateſt quantity of diamonds. He is now the neighbour of his predeceſſor Zoritch; whom he often viſits for the ſake of play, and had rather loſe his peaſants than his jewels.

not

not long in diſcovering that ſhe was deceived by her favourite and by her friend. She ſent orders to one of them to travel out of the empire: and to the other to haſten to Moſco. Catharine, from that moment, would no more have a friend; but as ſhe could not ſo conveniently diſpenſe with a favourite, ſhe fixed her choice that ſame day on Lanſkoï, one of the chevalier-guards*, a youth of as fine and intereſting a figure as the imagination

* Lanſkoï was ſprung from a very antient family in Poland; their original name being Lonſky.—The chevalier-guards conſiſt of ſixty men, all officers in the army, down to the captain's rank. They had in 1790 two corporals of lieutenant-colonel's rank, and three of majors, one ſerjeant-major of colonel's rank, one cornet of the rank of major-general, one lieutenant of the rank of lieutenant-general, and the general field-marſhal prince Potemkin their captain. The whole corps is compoſed of tall handſome men; and the ſtate-uniform probably exceeds in magnificence any military uniform of antient or modern times. The coat is blue faced with red, and almoſt covered with ſilver lace, embroidery, and hammered ſilver. On the back is embroidered a large ruſſian ſpread eagle; an eagle likewiſe adorns the ſilver plates of armour on the arms and knees, which are faſtened by ſilver cords; and are attached again to the body armour by ſilver chains. Bandelier, baudrick, and carbine, are furniſhed with ſilver ſcales, and the ſabre-ſheath is of ſilver. The boots are drawn together with ſilver lacing, and the tops hung with chains of the ſame metal. The head is decorated by a helmet of ſilver with high plumes of various gaudy colours. The whole armour greatly reſembles what we ſtill ſee hung up of that kind in armouries, excepting that it is all of ſilver, and coſts each man at leaſt a thouſand rubles. The chevaliers only keep guard in the palace at the doors of the ſovereign's apartments, and on court feſtivals alone appear in the magnificence above deſcribed.

can paint. We ſhall ſee, in the courſe of this work, that, of all the lovers of Catharine, Lanſkoï was the man whom ſhe loved the moſt, and who beſt deſerved her love.

Potemkin's mind was not entirely employed in court-intrigues. That ambitious favourite, aſpiring at the flattering honour of cauſing Catharine to be crowned at Conſtantinople, and ſtill more deſirous of it than herſelf, reſolved to begin by taking poſſeſſion of the Krimea. But, in order to enſure ſucceſs, it was neceſſary to act in concert with the emperor of Germany. He communicated his deſign to Catharine, who approved of it without heſitation. On his propoſing it afterwards in the council, count Nikita Ivanovitch Panin, who was a great ſtickler for the alliance with Pruſſia, obſerved, that it would expoſe the country to too much danger, by detaching it from that potentate: notwithſtanding his objections, the plan of Potemkin was followed. Panin was ſo grieved, that he fell ſick, and retired from buſineſs.

It was at this period that Bezborodko * was admitted into the council. Bezborodko had at firſt been ſecretary to marſhal Romantzof, with Zavadoſky. Like Zavadoſky too, he afterwards became ſecretary of the empreſs's cabinet: but he was never, like him, raiſed to the poſt of favourite. He was appointed miniſter for the home depart-

* The name Bezborodko, in ruſs, ſignifies *beardleſs*.

ment.

ment. Count Oſtermann, who, ſince his return from Sweden, filled the place of vice-chancellor*, executed all the buſineſs which had been long conducted by Panin.

Catharine was deſirous of having an interview with Joſeph II. the plans ſhe was now about to adopt, rendered a conference with him abſolutely neceſſary. She requeſted him therefore to come and join her in Poland, and ſhe preſently after ſet out for Mohilef.

Perhaps it may not be ſuperfluous to obſerve, that during theſe frequent journeys, the empreſs never entruſted to the grand duke either the government of St. Peterſburg, or the adminiſtration of affairs. By birth generaliſſimo of the ruſſian armies, he never led a regiment to battle; and, though grand admiral of the Baltic, he was never once permitted to viſit the fleet at Cronſtadt.

Panin, to whom the empreſs generally granted the dangerous honour of repreſenting her perſon, had, for ſome time, been retired into the country. More oppreſſed by chagrin and diſguſt than by diſeaſes of body, and more worn out by cares than by age, he was juſt vegetating on the brink of the grave. Field-marſhal Alexander Michailovitch Gallitzin was at this time appointed governor of the reſidence.

* There had been no actual chancellor, ſince the death of the old count Vorontzof in 1767.

In the mean time the empreſs reached Mohilef *, whither the emperor Joſeph II. had arrived before her. A number of the grandees of Poland repaired alſo to that city. The pomp by which Catharine was ſurrounded, and the luxury of the noble Poles †, formed a whimſical contraſt with the ſimplicity of the manner and dreſs of the emperor of Germany, That prince travelled under the title of the count von Falkenſtein; and intreated the empreſs to ſpare him the neceſſity of all vain etiquette and conſtraining ceremony: to which Catharine cheerfully conſented.

Here they had ſeveral private converſations, in which they agreed to attack the Ottomans in concert, to ſhare a part of the ſpoils between them, and to re-eſtabliſh the antient republics of Greece. In order to determine the emperor to enter into her views, Catharine conſented to patronize the barter of Bavaria for the auſtrian Netherlands, excepting the counties of Namur and Luxemburg; at the ſame time engaging herſelf to ſupport him againſt all oppoſition on the part of the king of Pruſſia and the other princes of the empire. Theſe ſtipulations on either ſide were ſhortly afterwards

* She arrived there the 30th of May.

† They addicted themſelves to gaming to an enormous exceſs. Some of thoſe, whom the ſharpers had not been able to ruin at play, were ſtripped of all they had left by robbers on the ſeveral roads. It was ſaid, that count Potocky was pillaged of upwards of four hundred thouſand florins.

confirmed

confirmed by a treaty, ſigned at Peterſburg. Catharine invited the emperor to viſit Ruſſia; and that monarch, always fond of travelling, and eager after information, took the route of Moſco, while the empreſs returned directly to her reſidence.

The averſion of Joſeph II. for the pomp and formalities of a court is generally known. On the journey from Vienna to Mohilef, a perſon was always one ſtation, and ſometimes two, before the imperial carriages, who announced to the poſt-maſter, that the grand retinue was coming on, that he muſt provide dinner, or ſupper, or lodging for ſo many perſons; at the ſame time ordering a fowl and a ſauſage, or a ſlice of ham, with a draught of common beer for himſelf. After having taken this refreſhment, if it was towards night, he aſked to repoſe a few hours on a ſettee. The landlord, thanking him for his civility in giving him timely notice of the approach of his diſtinguiſhed gueſts, would intreat him to take a bed; but this he conſtantly refuſed, ſaying that the expedition he muſt make would not allow of this indulgence. The poſtmaſter, at length, commending him for his diligence, ſaw that the carriage was ready at the proper time; and away went the avant-courier. The reader is already aware of what was the fact, that this fore-runner was no other perſon than the emperor himſelf.

Previous to their ſeparation at Mohilef, Catharine had offered her imperial viſitor a ſuite of ſplen-

did apartments in the palace. But to this Joſeph objected; and added, that unleſs her majeſty would permit him to take up his quarters at an inn, however deſirous he was of prolonging his viſit, he muſt abſolutely undergo the mortification of denying himſelf that high honour. Accordingly, on her majeſty's return to Tzarſko-ſelo, the engliſh gardener received orders to convert his houſe into an inn, by hanging out a ſign; and to find accommodations for the emperor. A catharine-wheel was therefore painted on a board, and below it, in german characters, was written, "The Falkenſtein "arms." Here the emperor, under the name of count Falkenſtein, put up, on arriving at Tzarſko-ſelo; and was perfectly ſatisfied with the entertainment he received from the honeſt inn-keeper and his worthy family. It may eaſily be imagined, that a number of little laughable adventures happened here during the emperor's ſtay, ariſing from the perfect incognito he always obſerved.

Notwithſtanding the continual repugnance ſhewn by the emperor to all the parade of pomp and luxury, Catharine gave him entertainments of uncommon magnificence. But theſe entertainments had no attractions for Joſeph II.: what employed him moſt, was the care of viſiting uſeful eſtabliſhments and curious monuments of art. He had ſeen at Moſco the Kremlin, the Khitaigorod*, the monaſteries,

* The Khaitaigorod, or the chineſe town, is a quarter of Moſco,

teries, the library, and the archives of the history of the north; which were reduced to such excellent order by the learned professor Muller. He had stopped at Tula, to examine the hardware manufactory, on which Catharine had spared no expence for bringing it to its present perfection; and perhaps yields in no respect, for the beauty of its workmanship, to the manufactories of Sheffield and Birmingham.

In like manner he visited also every thing that was curious at Petersburg, and the port of Cronstadt. He examined minutely the arsenals, the dockyards, the manufactories of various kinds; and every where received some flattering mark of the empress's attention. On his entering the academy of sciences, he was presented with a volume of geographical maps, among which was already engraved, that of his journey from Vienna to Petersburg. At the academy of arts a collection of engravings was laid before him, in which was his own portrait, with an inscription * suitable to his taste for travelling, and the perspicacity of his character.

At length Joseph II. took leave of Russia, equally

co, where a great trade is carried on in furs and all sorts of merchandise. It has the appearance of a perpetual fair.

* It was this passage from Horace,

Multorum providus urbes,
Et mores hominum inspexit.

aſtoniſhed at that mixture of refinement and barbariſm which the ruſſian nation had offered to his view; and the variety of diſpoſition in the character of the empreſs. He could not conceive how a woman, who ſeemed by nature formed for leading the whole world in chains, could ſubmit to be governed by two favourites at her own court.

Not long after the departure of Joſeph II. the hereditary prince of Pruſſia * arrived at Peterſburg. His ſtay there produced nothing remarkable. Indeed numerous entertainments were given him: but magnificent entertainments were nothing unuſual at the court of Ruſſia.

Seeing that ſo many princes quitted their dominions for the ſake of viſiting foreign countries, the empreſs reſolved that the grand duke ſhould travel likewiſe. Accuſtomed to the reſpect and the moderation of the tzarevitch, ſhe was under no apprehenſion concerning his abſence; and ſhe hoped that while Europe was contemplating the heir of her throne, ſhe herſelf ſhould not entirely be forgotten. The grand duke and the grand ducheſs travelled through Poland and Auſtria to Italy; whence they returned to St. Peterſburg by the way of France and Holland. During their journey, nothing that happened to them was unknown to the empreſs. A courier, regularly diſpatched every

* Who reigned afterwards under the name of Frederic William II.

day,

day, informed her where they were, and how they were employed *.

They doubtleſs were eagerly deſirous of knowing what was paſſing at Peterſburg; but Catharine was not ſo ready to indulge their curioſity. The brigadier aid-de-camp Bibikof, who had preſumed to diſregard the will of the ſovereign, was very ſoon detected. His letters, addreſſed prince Alexander Kurakin †, who accompanied the grand duke, were intercepted at Riga. They contained particulars too ſtrongly marked. The ſeveral perſonages of the court were characteriſed under ſarcaſtic names ‡, and their manners ſtrikingly exhibited. Bibikof was immediately condemned to go and repent his raſhneſs at Aſtrakhan, where he not long after died.

The greateſt apparent harmony now ſubſiſted between the late contending powers of Ruſſia and the Porte. Nor had this good neighbourhood been at all interrupted by ſome diſturbances in the Krimea, where the Tartars depoſed their khan, Sahim Gueray, who had always aſſiſted the Ruſſians, and was accordingly eſtabliſhed by them, and reſtored their warlike chief Doulet Gueray, who had

* They were out on their travels fourteen months.

† Prince Kurakin is nephew of count Panin. The family of Kurakin is ſprung from that of the Yagellone who filled the throne of Poland.

‡ Prince Potemkin in them went by the name of *Krivoi* or One-eye.

as constantly opposed their enterprizes. It seemed as if both powers, to avoid all foundation for disputes, had resolved for the present not to interfere in the cabals of these people, with respect to the choice or succession of their princes. In the mean time, Russia was by no means indifferent to the vast sources of wealth and power which were opened to her by the occupancy of the Euxine. She had long struggled with the insurmountable obstacles which nature threw in her way in the Baltic; and which would for ever prevent her establishing an extensive and advantageous commerce, or becoming a great maritime power on that side. A sea shut up and unnavigable for near two-thirds of the year, and incumbered with numberless impediments at all times, could never answer those purposes in any degree suitable to the ambition and views of such an empire as Russia. She accordingly omitted nothing that might contribute to the opening and establishment of a great trade on the Euxine; and for that purpose, the empress furnished some particular merchants with the use of ships free from any charge for freight, and promised to indemnify them for any losses they may sustain in the outset.

Yet any circumstances attending the late war and peace between Russia and the porte, could not fail to sow the seeds of future discontent, jealousy, ill-will, and litigation, between the parties. Extraordinary success and triumph on the one side, with

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an equal degree of loſs and diſgrace on the other, are little calculated to promote any intercourſe of friendſhip or cordiality of ſentiment among men; nor will a recollection of the hard neceſſity under which a peace was ſubſcribed, ſerve at all to render palatable the bitterneſs of its conditions. On the other hand, the victors are ſure to conſider the vanquiſhed as owing them too much. They are apt to think, that they have always a right to claim thoſe advantages, which they omitted to ſecure in the moment of their fortune; and which they look upon as rights exiſting though neglected, as they could not at that time have been refuſed if demanded.

The navigation of the Euxine, the opening the gates of the Dardanelles and Boſphorus, ſo as to admit a free intercourſe from the White Sea to the Euxine, the affairs of the Krimea, with thoſe of the greek dependent provinces of Moldavia and Valakhia, afforded the grounds of thoſe diſputes between the two empires, which were now riſen to ſuch a height as ſeemed to render a new war inevitable.

With reſpect to the firſt of theſe articles, nothing leſs than the moſt urgent neceſſity, under the preſſure of immediate and imminent danger, could have induced the porte to admit Ruſſia to the navigation of the Euxine. It is not then to be doubted, that the porte uſed every poſſible evaſion to avoid a compliance with that article of the late

treaty, and threw every obſtacle in the way which would tend to render it ineffective. The Ruſſians had notwithſtanding, with wonderful ſpirit and induſtry, very ſpeedily advanced large capitals, and opened a conſiderable commerce on that ſea. It may then be fairly preſumed, without an abſolute poſſeſſion of facts, that commercial avidity was continually increaſed, in proportion to the number, magnitude, novelty, and value, of the objects which were gradually open to its view; and that thus, new, and perhaps unreaſonable claims were as frequently ſtarted on the one ſide, as an indiſpoſition to comply with the fair and literal terms of the treaty, was prevalent on the other.

The ſecond ground of diſpute, ſeemed ſtill more difficult and delicate. The porte had unwillingly conſented by the late treaty, to admit or acknowledge the independence of the Krimea. That independence muſt be conſidered only as nominal. Between ſuch powers as Turkey and Ruſſia, ſuch a power as the khan of the Krimea cannot be really independent. The Turks were in hopes, as that prince and his ſubjects are mohammedans, to weaken the force of that article by their natural inclination to the porte. Otherwiſe they would have conſidered their conceſſion in a ſtill worſe light. To have thrown that whole country, ſituated as it is, with its own and the adjoining nations of Tartars, together with the reigning family, the immediate deſcendants of Tamerlane, and in direct ſucceſſion

to

to the ottoman throne, entirely to the hands of Ruſſia, were circumſtances exceedingly grievous to a power, which uſed to give and not to receive the law. Yet this was already the diſagreeable and alarming conſequence of that conceſſion. For Ruſſia, by a judicious but unſparing diſtribution of preſents amongſt the Tartars, and by artfully fomenting ſome diviſions which had originated within themſelves, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, had been able to defeat and depoſe the reigning khan, and to place a creature of her own, although a prince of the royal blood, in poſſeſſion of the nominal ſovereignty; whilſt the government was now in effect more dependent upon Ruſſia, than it had even formerly been upon the porte; the dependence being doubly ſecured, as well by a predominant faction among the people, as by the diſpoſition or attachment of the prince. By theſe, and by other means, the Krimea, with Little Tartary, and the Budziac, were become ſcarcely any thing leſs than provinces to Ruſſia; or at leaſt they were as dependent on that empire as the nature of that ſingular people will admit of their being, while they retain any conſiderable degree of inherent ſtrength.

This conduct, and theſe circumſtances, which certainly militated, at leaſt with the ſpirit of the late treaty, could not but give great umbrage to the porte; and afforded, if not a clear juſtification a tolerable ground of controverſy, with reſpect to any ſlackneſs or non-compliance on her ſide, in

fulfilling

fulfilling its conditions. But they alſo afforded cauſe of the moſt ſerious concern and alarm. For that peninſula, ſurrounded as it is by the Euxine and the Palus Mæotis, and commanding the communication between both, would afford ſuch a claim of right to Ruſſia, with ſuch an intereſt, and ſuch a ſtrength in thoſe ſeas, as nothing could afterwards be capable of oppoſing.

The diſputes relative to the greek nominal princes, but in effect governors of Moldavia and Valakhia, though not of a nature ſo immediately alarming and dangerous as the foregoing, yet were founded on claims, and on an interference which tended ultimately to the ſame point; to the depreciation of the ottoman power and government, the narrowing of its european dominion, and the finally throwing every thing on that ſide of the Danube into the hands of Ruſſia. The attachment which the greek chriſtians, who inhabit theſe provinces, had ſhewn to Ruſſia in the late war, had, along with other motives, induced her to obtain very conſiderable conceſſions in their favour at the concluſion of the peace. The effect of the partial advantages granted to theſe two provinces was ſoon apparent, by the emigration of chriſtian inhabitants, from thoſe on the other ſide of the Danube which it naturally occaſioned; who, as well as the natives, looked up to another power, than that to which they avowed allegiance, for favour and protection. In order to ſecure their independence

independence on the porte, Ruſſia made a demand, that thoſe princes ſhould not be depoſed or puniſhed (misfortunes to which they were particularly liable) on any pretence or account whatever.

In ſo unhappy a ſtate of weakneſs and diſorder was that vaſt and unwieldy empire, that it might be a queſtion of doubt, whether to admire the ſpirit or to condemn the raſhneſs, that induced the apparent reſolution and vigour with which ſhe prepared for war. The ill-ſucceſs of the late hoſtilities, had drawn out and exhibited in their utmoſt magnitude thoſe enormous diſorders, which had for ſo many years been acquiring growth under a weak and wretched ſyſtem of government. The diſtant provinces were ſtill torn to pieces by faction and diſſenſion; and the officers of the ſtate, as well as the great men of the reſpective countries, were ſtill, in many inſtances, too powerful to be governed. To crown the calamity, the plague had in the preceding year made ſuch horrible ravages in Conſtantinople, as had not been before known in that capital, (to which it is ſo frequent a viſitor) ſince its firſt acquiſition by the Ottomans. It was computed that above one hundred and ſixty thouſand perſons periſhed by that dreadful diſorder within the metropolis and its environs.

On the other hand, though Ruſſia was conſcious of the advantages acquired by the late treaty, ſhe was far from deſirous of war. That war, amidſt

amidſt its great and ſplendid ſucceſſes, had diſcovered ſome ſymptoms of internal weakneſs. The rebellion of Pugatſhef was a fit which laid open ſome defect in the conſtitution. Beſides, Ruſſia probably could never hope, with the conſent of other powers, to obtain advantages equal to the victories ſhe might hereafter purchaſe as dearly as ſhe had done thoſe of the preceding war. By which, along with her laurels, ſhe brought the plague into a country exhauſted of men and treaſure. The empreſs was therefore very willing to receive any mediation, conſiſtent with her dignity, which in all events ſhe was reſolved not to ſacrifice. France had the addreſs to avail herſelf of this ſituation. The french miniſter was again the friendly mediator, and the ſucceſsful negotiator in bringing about an accommodation. And his merits and ſervices were again honoured and rewarded with ſimilar expreſſions of gratitude, and with ſimilar marks of favour from both ſides.

It was, in the firſt inſtance more eſpecially, a matter of no ſmall general aſtoniſhment, that Great Britain, which had been ſo long and ſo cloſely united, in the ſtricteſt bands of friendſhip, and apparent political communion of views and intereſts with Ruſſia, and which had even gone ſome extraordinary length in the late war in her favour, ſhould not have undertaken the friendly office of mediator; by which means ſhe would likewiſe have had an opportunity of wearing off that

that not unfounded jealouſy which the porte could not but entertain of her late conduct. On the other hand, a ſtrong jealouſy had for ſeveral years ſubſiſted between France and Ruſſia; and their political intereſts and regards ſo much claſhed with reſpect to that war, that all the world knew, it was in a good meaſure the apprehenſion of England, which prevented the houſe of Bourbon from taking a decided part againſt the latter, upon her ſending a fleet to the Mediterranean.

Whether it was that we were too feeble in the Mediterranean to appear with any luſtre in ſuch a negotiation, the effect ſeemed to be, that France, for ſome time at leaſt, ſeemed to attain the aſcendant at St. Peterſburg, and the credit of Great Britain in that court proportionably to decline.

By the new convention which was now ſigned, conceſſions were made on both ſides; and matters of claim, interference, and litigation, amicably adjuſted. Some conceſſions were made by the porte with reſpect to commerce, and ſome new regulations made in favour of its chriſtian ſubjects. On the other hand, Ruſſia relaxed in ſome matters with reſpect to the Krimea, and the provinces of Moldavia and Valakhia, and obtained ſatisfaction in others. The new khan of the Tartars was acknowledged by the porte, and the apparent independency of the Krimea confirmed on both ſides. The empreſs of Ruſſia had an opportunity of diſplaying her uſual magnificence, by the ſplendid

preſents which ſhe made to the french and turkiſh miniſters, as well as to Stachief, her own reſident at Conſtantinople; who received the valuable, but in other countries unheard-of gift, of a thouſand peaſants: a kind of gift, which alſo includes the land they cultivate and inhabit. Upon the whole, this convention ſeemed to have afforded conſiderable ſatisfaction to both parties; nor had any matter of complaint or diſpute ſince ariſen on either ſide. By this arrangement the porte had time to breathe and to ſettle its affairs. With reſpect to Ruſſia, it afforded her leiſure to direct her attention to her conſtant object—that of diſplaying her authority, by becoming an arbiter in the public affairs of Europe; although, perhaps, the means of her becoming the greateſt monarchy in the univerſe (if ſhe were not already ſuch) do not lie on the ſide of Europe.

1781. The armed neutrality, in the mean time, was diſplaying its flag in all the northern ſeas; the ruſſian ſquadrons viſited the coaſts of the Mediterranean; and commerce was efficaciouſly protected in every quarter. The Dutch, who had heſitated to enter into the naval confederacy, ſoon repented of their ſcruples. The cabinet of London declared war againſt them. Catharine however did not abandon them. Knowing what a great reſource they had been to her in the raiſing of loans, and what aſſiſtances ſhe might ſtill draw from them, ſhe offered her mediation both to them and

and to England. The Dutch accepted the proffered interference with joy; England could not decently refuse it: but the politics of the cabinet of St. James's, long jealous of the commerce of Holland, found means, without offending the empress, to render unavailing her pacific intentions: peace with Holland was the last that was concluded.

Great fires broke out about this time at Mosco, which consumed a considerable part of the Khitaigorod, and occasioned a damage to the amount of three millions of rubles*. Nor was Petersburg free from a visitation of the same nature; the spacious hemp warehouses on the Vassilli ostrof, about two hundred shops, and several vessels in the harbours, fell victims to the fury of the flames, within the interval of a few weeks or months. From this circumstance it was at first surmised, that some evil-minded persons might have purposely set fire to these buildings; but, after due inquiry, no reason appeared to substantiate the suspicion. As the shops are all deserted towards evening, it fortunately happened that no lives were lost. Another misfortune was, the loss of two russian ships of war of the line, one of which was dashed to

* Some time before, the opera-house at Mosco had been burnt down; and, it being thronged in all parts, as it was the time of the *maslanitza*, or russian carnival, the getting out was attended with great difficulty; several persons were either suffocated or burnt.

pieces againſt the breakers that lie juſt at the water's edge off the iſles d'Hieres, and the other on the rocks of the Krimea*.

Notwithſtanding all the pains that have been taken by Peter I. and his ſucceſſors for the forming of good ſailors, Ruſſia has as yet but very few officers who are capable of commanding a ſhip: and if it were not for the Dutch, the Danes, and above all the Engliſh, her fleets could never pretend to ſail out of the Baltic.

At the latter end of the laſt year Catharine iſſued orders for building twelve ſhips of the line at Kherſon, and eight others, three-deekers, at St. Peterſburg. On the completion of theſe orders, her marine amounted to forty-two ſhips of the line for the Baltic, and twelve of the line for the Euxine, excluſive of frigates, gallies, bomb-veſſels, and other armed ſhips.

Nothing can give a higher idea of the talents, capacity, and reſolution of Peter I. than a compariſon between the condition in which he found the ruſſian marine and that wherein he left it. At the beginning of his reign he had not a ſingle ſhip on the Baltic. His firſt attempts in naval architecture were made in the ports of the Euxine; and

* The former of theſe ſhips was called the *Slava Roſſia*, the Glory of Ruſſia, commanded by Baſhkakof, at preſent vice-admiral and commiſſary-general of the navy on the Baltic.—Of the latter, the *Slava Ekatarina*, the Glory of Catharine, captain Domogirof had the command.

by

by his uncommon perſeverance, were crowned with ſucceſs. But no ſooner was he in poſſeſſion of Cronſtadt, than he preſently produced as aſtoniſhing effects on the Baltic.

The conſtruction of a fleet in that quarter now forms an æra in the ruſſian hiſtory, from which the nation, in common diſcourſe, uſually dates its tranſactions. But, with Peter's death, every thing took a different turn; his genius and activity did not deſcend to his ſucceſſors: the marine was neglected; and, at the acceſſion of Catharine the ſecond, it was in ſo bad a condition, that ſhe had it almoſt entirely to create anew. Like Peter the great, ſhe invited ſeveral ſhip-builders from England, particularly admiral Knowles; who had acquired great reputation, both at home and abroad, for his knowledge in that art. She alſo procured a number of able ſeamen from Great Britain, for the purpoſe of inſtructing her new or unſkilful ſailors in the art of working a ſhip. Under her, all Europe ſaw, with amazement, the ruſſian eagle flying in the Archipelago, and the ottoman fleet at Tſcheſmè annihilated by a ſquadron from the north.

Ruſſia might be in poſſeſſion of a formidable navy ſooner than any other country, if it ſolely depended on having the materials; as every thing is found in the empire that is neceſſary to the conſtruction and equipment of ſhips. They are chiefly built at Cronſtadt and Archangel; at the

former of which places oak timber is uſed, and at the latter fir; which is neither ſufficiently durable for long voyages, nor ſubſtantial enough for veſſels of war. The oak made uſe of at Cronſtadt, and which comes from the provinces of Kazan and Aſtrakhan, is far from good, on account of its ſoft and porous quality; and, withal, is not prepared in ſuch a manner as ſhip-timber generally is, in the other dock-yards of Europe, by letting it float for ſeveral years in the ſea, in order to harden it, and render it fitter for working. In Ruſſia, it is no ſooner arrived at the yard, than the axe is employed upon it. Accordingly a ruſſian ſhip, after fifteen years, is no longer ſerviceable; and, at the end of five, muſt undergo a thorough repair.

The Ukraine, and the government of Moſco, furniſh hemp. Timber for maſts abounds in the extenſive foreſts between Novgorod and the gulf of Finland; and in the countries bordering on Poland. Pitch and tar are obtained from Vyburg. In ſeveral provinces are ſail-cloth manufactories and rope-walks. In a word, the magazines of St. Peterſburg and Archangel are amply ſupplied with theſe various articles.

The ruſſian marine, in the ports of the Baltic and at Archangel, conſiſted, towards the end of the year 1788, of forty-four ſhips of the line, eighteen frigates, twelve prames, and one hundred and twenty-two gallies. This navy was commanded by

by a high-admiral, who was the grand duke; a commander in chief of the gallies, and an admiral in chief of the fleet; and laſtly, ſix vice and eight contre-admirals, who act as commodores Of the vice-admirals, the prince of Naſſau Siegen, and of the contre-admirals, M. Spiridof, were the only ones at that time in function. In Ruſſia are three claſſes of captains: thoſe of the firſt have the rank of brigadier; thoſe of the ſecond, the rank of colonel; thoſe of the laſt, the rank of lieutenant-colonel. They all wear the military order of St. George; but are only knights of the fourth claſs. A ſea-officer, who takes ſervice in the army, advances two degrees. In the organizing of this corps, Peter ſhewed how greatly he was intereſted in it, preferring it to the land-troops: for even the ſailors enjoy this advantage; they are allowed more proviſions, and their pay is almoſt double to that of the ſoldiers.

On urgent occaſions Ruſſia might conſiderably augment her marine; but it muſt be by taking on a multitude of unſkilful people: for notwithſtanding the progreſs which that country has made in maritime affairs; though in a ſhort ſpace of time ſhe has got a greater force at ſea than the other northern powers; yet it may be affirmed, that her navy is not nearly ſo far advanced as thoſe of the reſt of Europe: with which however ſhe pretends to be upon an equal footing. Without the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh and Dutch, to whom

ſhe is chiefly indebted for being what ſhe is in regard to ſhip-building, as well as the manœuvring and diſcipline of the fleet, ſhe would ſtill be much farther behind. But various obſtacles oppoſe the greater progreſs, which in herſelf ſhe might be able to make. Firſt, the want of harbours in the ocean; the ſmall extent of coaſt poſſeſſed by Ruſſia, and which moreover is frozen up for a great part of the year; and the ſmall number of ſkilful ſeamen with which ſhe can man her ſhips, if ſhe will have their crews compoſed ſolely of natives. In fact, the only port in the ocean poſſeſſed in Ruſſia is Archangel; and that is only of uſe for the purpoſes of commerce. It lies ſo far from the european ſeas, that in order to get into them, there is no other paſſage than by the north cape, ſituate in 72 degrees north latitude; a way which is only open during the middle of ſummer.

Secondly, it is manifeſt that a power which has only a ſmall extent of coaſt can hardly maintain a powerful force at ſea. Now Ruſſia has no more coaſt than that of the gulf of Finland, between Vyburg and Riga: but this, for ſo extenſive an empire, is no more than a point, and is of a ſmaller value, as being confined within land, without the advantage of tides, and inacceſſible for at leaſt five months in the year, in compariſon with the ocean is rather like a bay than a ſea. Into this ſtatement, however, we do not take the ruſſian poſſeſſions on the Euxine, nor the almoſt deſert coaſts

coasts of the White Sea and the Frozen Ocean, nor yet the uninhabitable regions of Kamtshatka.

Lastly, Russia is destitute of experienced sailors, and must continue to be so from the nature of her government. The vassal, the only effective man in this empire to brave the hardships of the sea, is fettered to the soil on which he was born, and the sea is the proper element only for freemen. In the first war between the Russians and the Turks, it was one fortunate circumstance among many others, that they had so far to go to meet the enemy, as, on the long voyage from Cronstadt to the Archipelago, the officers as well as the sailors, might gather experience. It is true, the government keeps eighteen thousand sailors in pay; but by far the greatest part of them have never seen service. A small number, in time of peace, are sent to cruise about the Baltic; or, at most, proceed so far as till they come in sight of the english coast, while others are employed in summer to conduct a few ships from Cronstadt to Petersburg. But this is too short an apprenticeship for forming a body of sailors, which in war time cannot be supplied from the crews of merchant-ships, for Russia has scarcely any, which principally arises from the severe prohibition, without a formal pass from the admiralty, to go out of the empire. A merchant who fits out a vessel must first obtain leave of the admiralty to take a certain number of Russians on board, for whose return

return he must afterwards enter into an obligation, with the penalty of a hundred and forty rubles each man. So that, without a breach of the fundamental laws of the empire, a number of sailors cannot be had, on the most pressing occasion, sufficient to man a large fleet. In short, a country that has no distant colonies, no considerable fisheries, and not an extensive coast, to make its inhabitants familiar with the dangers of the sea, cannot acquire a navy whereby to become formidable to the maritime powers of Europe.

However, with all these defects, the russian navy is sufficiently able to cover its coasts, to convoy its merchant-ships, and to obtain respect in the Baltic and the Archipelago; as that of the Turks is not better, but indeed far worse than the russian, and the former is daily declining, and the latter improving. It is a great advantage for Russia, and was a striking instance of the wise policy of Catharine, to keep up a good understanding with the great maritime powers, whom she supplies with materials for ship-building, and who must therefore conciliate her friendship; and the rather, as she cannot long hope to be their rival.

The disorders of the ottoman empire were too numerous and inveterate to admit of any effectual remedy within the few years of uncertain peace that had elapsed since the conclusion of the late unfortunate war with Russia. So much was to be done, that it would have required many years of tranquillity,

tranquillity, and an unremitted purſuit of the wiſeſt and moſt vigorous meaſures, to have accompliſhed the reforms that were wanting in ſo many departments of the ſtate, and which, to produce their full effect, ſhould have included the whole military and naval ſyſtem: the Turks having, partly through pride and bigotry, partly through native or habitual indolence, and, ſtill more than all, through a ſucceſſion of weak and inactive governments, ſuffered the weſtern nations to leave them a full century behind, with reſpect to tactics, to the conſtruction and management of artillery, and to all improvements in the art of war. Their militia likewiſe, both of horſe and foot, which had been excellent in their inſtitution, and had been farther reformed and much improved by the wiſe regulations of their great emperor, Solyman the magnificent, have ſince been ſuffered ſo ſhamefully to degenerate, that one highly and juſtly diſtinguiſhed order of them has frequently proved more dangerous to the ſtate than to its enemies; and a great part of the other has of late years been more an incumbrance and impediment to ſervice, than an arm of ſtrength and effect in the field.

But the treaty of Kainardgi, in 1774, did not afford that ſtate of ſecurity which would have been neceſſary for the accompliſhment of ſchemes of great and general reform and improvement. No ſuch ſeaſon of quiet and leiſure had yet occurred; nor did the preſent appearances of public affairs indicate

indicate the near approach of it. The extraordinary ſucceſſes of Ruſſia in the late war, and, ſtill more than theſe, the unexampled weakneſs and diſorder which ſhe diſcovered in her opponent, could not but enlarge her views to many new and before unthought-of objects. A wide field for enterpriſe and ambition was opened on the ſide both of Europe and Aſia. She granted preſent peace to her proſtrate enemy; for peace was then, from many concurrent cauſes, neceſſary to herſelf. She ſeemed to riſe from a banquet of victory, to which ſhe mighty return, whenever leiſure ſerved, and appetite invited. It was only her buſineſs to take care that the ſervices ſhould not be removed, nor the way barred againſt her return.

The peace was ſuch as was to be expected from the circumſtances on both ſides, and ſeemed to be founded on the principles we have ſtated. It ſowed ſuch numberleſs ſeeds of contention, that the ſucceſſion of the crops could ſcarcely fail under any management; and the fuel for lighting up future wars was ſo thickly ſpread, that it ſeemed as if nothing leſs than the inability of both parties, or the deſtruction of one, could ever bring them to a final concluſion.

The peace, however, ſuch as it was, was then indiſpenſably neceſſary to the immediate preſervation of the turkiſh empire: but, from the nature of the conditions, and the never-ending train of conſequences which they were capable of producing,

ing, could no longer be endured by the party aggrieved, than while ſome degree of ſimilar neceſſity was prevalent. We have accordingly ſeen, that within ſo ſmall a ſpace of time as five years from the concluſion of the former bloody war, and notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages under which one party ſtill laboured, a new war was juſt upon the point of breaking out between the two empires, and was only prevented by a new treaty of pacification, which took place on the 21ſt of March, 1779. Though France had the honour of bringing about that accommodation, and though her interference had undoubtedly great weight in the buſineſs, it is certain that Ruſſia was not at that time by any means fully diſpoſed to war; and that neither her own internal ſituation, nor the ſtate of public affairs in Europe, rendered it a ſeaſon favourable to the accompliſhment of her deſigns in any extenſive degree. But at all events ſhe would not give up any material part of what ſhe had gained; nor, to avoid preſent inconvenience, admit of any ſuch innovation, as might intercept her proſpects, and prevent, when the proper ſeaſon arrived, the further proſecution of her deſigns.

On the other hand, her adverſary, feeling himſelf wrung in every part by the conditions and conſequences of the late peace, and fully perceiving that the evils and dangers already produced would, inſtead of leſſening, every day increaſe, thought it better, without regard to comparrative eſtimates

of

of ſtrength and weakneſs, to put every thing to the hazard of war, than to ſubmit, without an effort, for the ſake of a ſhort-lived ſecurity, to the ſilent but inevitable approach of ruin, under the inſidious cover of peace. The port accordingly captiouſly evaded or peeviſhly refuſed a compliance with many of the conditions; and things were proceeding faſt to the laſt extremity. Under theſe circumſtances, however, on both ſides, the opportune mediation of France could not be an unwelcome relief to either: mutual conceſſions were accordingly made, and the affair was patched up for the preſent.

But the great ſource of diſcord was ſtill left open. The pretended independency of the Krimea afforded ſuch an opening to Ruſſia into the very heart of the turkiſh empire, and ſuch opportunities of interference with the various mohammedan and chriſtian ſtates, which had been more or leſs dependent on the porte in Europe and in Aſia, that it was ſcarcely poſſible for any laſting tranquillity to ſubſiſt between the two empires. Though the turkiſh ſeas had at length been moſt unwillingly opened to Ruſſia, yet the mode and extent of that commerce, the regulations to which it was or was not to be ſubject, the double paſſage through the Boſphorus and Dardanelles, whether from the Euxine to the Mediterranean, or from the Baltic and Ocean to Conſtantinople and the Euxine, with the trade to the greek iſlands in the Archipelago, and

and the designed impediments thrown in by the the custom-houses, afforded all together (and all aggravated by the original ill-will which accompanied the concession) inexhaustible sources of litigation and contest. A claim made and insisted on by Russia, of establishing consuls in the three provinces of Moldavia, Valakhia, and Bessarabia, was exceedingly grievous to the porte; which, besides, considering them as licensed spies, was well aware, that they would act as agents and negotiators with the greek princes and inhabitants of the two former, who would thenceforth be in a constant state of preparation for rebellion.

Under these circumstances of continual embarrassment and apparent danger from without, the celebrated Hassan-bey the capudan-pasha, (whose name, from the extent of his capacity and the integrity of his manners, must ever be entitled to respect) was indefatigable in his endeavours to curb the violences, and to restrain the disorders, to which the late war had afforded birth and nurture, and which had spread anarchy and desolation through almost every part of the empire. He had succeeded in these attempts beyond whatever could have been expected, from the forlorn state of the ottoman affairs at the conclusion of the war. He reduced, and chastised, with a severity which, considering their enormities, could not be deemed illaudable, the most powerful rebels of the empire: he rescued the celebrated and beauti-

ful province of the Morea (the ancient Peloponnesus) from the cruel invasion of the Albanians; he cleared the coasts of Syria and the lesser Asia of those despots, whose petty wars and ravages had every where spread desolation and ruin; and restored order, quite, and security to those commercial regions. But his most signal service, and which abundantly shews (more especially as he had not the fortune of being enlightened by a liberal education) his natural magnanimity, and the comprehensiveness of his mind, was his overruling in council the design of exterminating the Greeks, which had been intended as a punishment for their defection in the late war, and to prevent similar or greater dangers in future. Not satisfied with warding off that fatal blow, he obtained a general amnesty for that people, and afterwards took care to have it so faithfully observed, as is supposed to have occasioned no small change in their disposition. But the abilities and exertions of that great commander and minister could only reach to the correction of some of the most glaring and immediately dangerous enormities.

Notwithstanding the treaty of pacification so lately concluded, differences again ran high, so early as the commencement of the year 1781, between the porte and the court of Petersburg, upon the subject of admitting russian consuls in the three provinces already mentioned; the former indeed wished rather to evade, than absolutely to refuse a compliance,

a compliance, and is ſaid to have deſcended ſo far as to write to count Panin, requeſting that his court would not inſiſt on a meaſure, which was ſo exceedingly irkſome to the grand ſignior himſelf, as well as to the divan. This ſollicitation did not produce the deſired effect: and Stachief, the ruſſian miniſter at the porte, ſtill continued to inſiſt that that buſineſs ſhould be immediately ſettled, obſerving, that his court made no new claims; that they only demanded a compliance with a poſitive article of the late treaty, and, with reſpect to that, they would not relax a tittle.

The death of the grand vizir, in the month of February 1781, afforded an opportunity to the capudan-paſha of ſucceſsfully urging his great influence with the emperor, in procuring Yſed Mehemet, the governor of Erzerum, whom he knew to be a man of ability, to be appointed his ſucceſſor. As it was about two months before the new grand vizir could arrive to take poſſeſſion of his office, it was filled by the capudan-paſha in the interim.

After long diſputes, many peremptory demands, and ſome haughty anſwers, which ſeemed to indicate another termination, the turkiſh miniſters, more from a ſenſe of the inability of the ſtate of war, than from pacific diſpoſitions, found it neceſſary, towards the cloſe of the year 1781, not only to give up the point of debate, with reſpect to the conſuls, but to ſubmit to the degrading con-

ceſſion of ſacrificing the reis effendi*, who is the miniſter for foreign affairs, and on whom it was now thought proper to charge all paſt difficulties, as well as thoſe ſpirited replies which had given ſo much offence to Ruſſia. He being accordingly depoſed, a formal diploma was paſſed, acknowledging and receiving Laſkarof as conſul-general of Ruſſia, with liberty of reſiding (which had before been a matter of much debate) at Bukhareſt, Yaſſy, or whatever other part of the three provinces he might think neceſſary.

This conceſſion, however mortifying, produced but a ſhort-lived effect. New troubles were continually breaking forth on the ſide of the Krimea; and the two courts of Conſtantinople and Peterſburg were as conſtantly embroiled in their conſequences. Sahim-Gueray, the khan who had been placed over the Tartars of that peninſula by the power and influence of Ruſſia, whether through defect of ſpirit, or exceſs of gratitude, made a more oſtentatious diſplay of his attachment, and even vaſſalage, than was ſuited either to his character as khan, or to that of the people whom he pretended to govern; nor was it entirely conſiſtent with the boaſted diſintereſtedneſs of that court, which had diſclaimed all views upon the Krimea, excepting the ſuppoſed eſtabliſhment and ſupport of its independency. He even deſcended

* Effendi is a title of honour, beſtowed on perſons conſidered as deſerving reſpect.

ſo

ſo far as to accept a captain's commiſſion in the empreſs's body guards.

Theſe things were ill to be borne by a high-ſpirited people, who had in all ages conſidered liberty as the moſt invaluable of human bleſſings. The means uſed by Ruſſia to gain a ſtrong party in the country, to ſupport their khan, could only reach to a limited portion of the people; but a great majority were highly diſſatisfied at theſe proceedings, and wiſhed to be again governed by their own princes, in their own way. They likewiſe preferred a connection with the Ottomans, with whom they had been ſo long united, who were of the ſame religion, and in conjunction with whom they had partaken of ſo much glory and ſpoil in war, than with a nation, which, beſides being chriſtian, they had been in the habit, through many ages, of regarding either with contempt or enmity.

The diſcontented party were encouraged and ſupported by the Tartars of the Kuban, as well as the Nogais, and even by ſome of the more diſtant nations or tribes of that people, who could not but be alarmed at the manner in which Ruſſia was ſpreading her influence and authority on all ſides, and apprehenſive of becoming victims to her power and deſigns in their turn. Nor will it be imagined that the porte itſelf did not ſecretly encourage the ill diſpoſition of this people to Ruſſia and to her khan; eſpecially as ſhe did not prevent ſeveral of

her mohammedan ſubjects, in the aſiatic countries bordering on the Euxine, from taking an open and active part in the enſuing troubles of the Krimea.

The calamities brought on by the dreadful fire (perhaps unexampled in hiſtory) which broke out in the city of Conſtantinople, were little calculated to encourage the ſtate to undertake, or to enable it to maintain a war; at the ſame time that the cauſes for war were multiplying, and its appearances, on more ſides than one, ſufficiently menacing. The troubles in the Krimea were riſen to their utmoſt pitch. The revolted Tartars had elected a new khan. A civil war enſued. That beautiful and lately populous country became a ſcene of deſolation and blood. Sahim-Gueray was worſted, and his party at length reduced almoſt to nothing. This was the very ſtate of things which Ruſſia undoubtedly wiſhed, and had all along ſought for. She had now a pretence for ſending her forces into the Krimea, to ſupport what ſhe repreſented as the real prince, againſt rebels and an uſurper. The conſequences were eaſily foreſeen. The Tartars, torn to pieces among themſelves, notwithſtanding the aid they received from without, were little able to withſtand the regular forces and unabating exertions of the Ruſſians. In theſe circumſtances they turned their eyes, and directed all their hopes to the porte, as their laſt refuge.

At the ſame time the court of Peterſburg highly reſented the conduct of the porte, to which it attributed all the troubles of the Krimea. It charged them with fomenting the diſcontents, and being the author of the revolt in that country; with ſuffering and encouraging their ſubjects in Natolia to take a direct and active part in the war; and with inſtigating other tartar tribes and nations both to an interference in thoſe troubles, and to commit many irregularities elſewhere, particularly on the ſide of Caucaſus. Strong remonſtrances on theſe ſubjects were backed by the march of ruſſian armies towards the frontiers, by the forming of magazines, and by all the preparations for war. Simliar meaſures were neceſſarily adopted on the other ſide; ſo that a rupture between the two powers ſeemed inevitable.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

APPENDIX

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

No. I.

SUBSTANCE *of the* TREATY *between the Courts of* PETERSBURG *and* BERLIN, *ratified the* 15*th of April* 1764.

BY articles 1 and 2. a treaty of defenſive alliance, and a mutual guarantee, are agreed to, after reſerving the liberty of concluding other treaties not contrary to the preſent.

3—9. In caſe of a foreign attack, ten thouſand infantry and two thouſand cavalry are promiſed, three months after the firſt requiſition, to be continued till a ceſſation of hoſtilities. If theſe be not ſufficient, means to be concerted to employ additional force. The troops to be paid, and furniſhed with ammunition, by the party aſſiſting; proviſions and quarters to be furniſhed by the aſſiſted. The troops to receive orders from their own general, and to have their own religion and laws.

10. No peace, &c. to be concluded without mutual conſent.

11. In caſe of war on the part of the aſſiſting party, it ſhall be exempted from furniſhing its quota, or ſhall be at liberty to withdraw its forces, after two months' notice.

12. A free commerce between the two ſtates.

13, 14. The treaty to be in force eight years, and renewable before the expiration, according to circumſtances. Ratifications to be exchanged in ſix weeks.

By a ſecret article it is engaged to maintain Poland in its right of a free election, and to prevent all hereditary ſucceſſion.

No. II.

MEMORIAL *of the* PORTE, *delivered in March* 1764, *to the* FOREIGN MINISTERS *at that* COURT, *in relation to the future Election of a King of* POLAND.

AMICABLE MEMORIAL.

NOTICE has been lately given to the ambaſſadors our friends, that it was the intention of the Sublime Porte, that the ancient liberties of the court of Poland ſhould not be encroached upon by foreign courts; that the king of Poland, who is to be ſet up, ſhould be elected and eſtabliſhed in the perſon of a native, as by the concurrence of the republic of Poland; and that no foreigner ſhould be made king. Yet advices received from divers places import, that there is room to think, that diſturbances are raiſed in Poland in order to get a perſon ſet by force on the poliſh throne, who is ſupported by certain powers. Though we are not quite perſuaded of the reality of theſe advices, a memorial has been delivered to each of the miniſters of Ruſſia, Germany, and Pruſſia, importing, that as the Sublime Porte takes it to be honourable to maintain and ſupport the ancient liberties of the Poles; and as the ſame Sublime Porte does not cramp the election that ought to be made of a king in the perſon of a native of the country; the Sublime Porte therefore deſires, that the other powers will likewiſe do honour to the liberties of the Poles, and that they will not oppoſe the election of a king in the perſon of ſuch Piaſt (native) as the Poles may judge eligible. In conſequence, this notice is given to the ambaſſadors our friends.

No. III.

PROTEST *againſt the* POLISH DIET *aſſembled for the Election of a King, drawn up and ſigned the 7th May* 176 ;, *by twenty Senators: to which Proteſt forty-five Nuncios afterwards ſigned an Act of Adherence.*

1. THE diet cannot be held in preſence of the foreign troops that ſurround the city.

2. The

2. The ſenators did not engage the Ruſſians to come; they gave no thanks for their being ſent, and have not any way given occaſion for their arrival.

3. The Ruſſians have committed an act of violence in Lithuania, by favouring a pernicious confederacy made for diſturbing the public tranquillity.

4. It is againſt all juſtice, that in the memorial of the Ruſſian miniſters, delivered to the primate the 4th inſtant, the troops of the crown are accuſed of having meddled in the dietines and other public acts.

5. It is by the unjuſt proceedings of the ſame foreign troops, that the general dietine of Pruſſia has proved abortive; and this is another motive for proteſting againſt this diet.

6. All good patriots, who love juſtice, are invited to unite for the ſupport of liberty.

At the end of this manifeſto there is an adheſion to the proteſts of the ſenators, ſigned by forty-five nuncios.

No. IV.

A DISCOURSE *addreſſed by his* POLISH MAJESTY *to the* PRINCE PRIMATE *and the* MARSHAL *of the* DIET, *in the Cathedral of* WARSAW, *when he received the Diploma of his Election, and took the Oath uſual on that Occaſion.*

IT was not my deſign to ſpeak in public at this time; but, in preſenting me with the diploma of my election, that ſolemn token of the nation's love, you, Mr. Marechal, have exhorted the ſovereign to ſpeak to his people. Theſe words of your diſcourſe oblige me to ſpeak, and to diſcover the feelings that paſſed within me, when the moment approached of taking the oath by which I have now bound myſelf in your preſence. Nay, I am even rejoiced that I have now an occaſion of ſhewing you, Mr. Marechal, together with the ſenators and ſtates of the republic, my real ſentiments, that thus you may judge whether my views, principles, and actions, will in any wiſe tend to ſatisfy your deſires, and to accompliſh your hopes.

When,

When, by united acclamations, the respectable citizens of this vast kingdom deigned to confer upon their equal the dignity of monarch, I bowed my head with the most profound respect in receiving this precious mark of the favour, liberty, and unanimity of this great people.

After my election, the impulse of gratitude led me to the sanctuary to pay my homage to the King of king's, because it is there that he is more peculiarly pleased with the tribute of mortals. And now that I am again called to the same sanctuary, it appeared to me, while I was approaching to it, that I was called before the throne of him who governs the universe, and presides over the course of the revolving ages. At this thought I was filled with awe; my veins also trembled when I was obliged to pronounce that irrevocable engagement, in consequence of which the honour and prosperity of the polish nation, and the safety and happiness of the individuals that compose it, are committed to the trust of one man; and I feel so much the more the weight of this important trust, in that I have long shared with you the calamities that flow from that want of order, union, and vigour, that has clouded the lustre of this once glorious and flourishing kingdom. I acknowledge that, in that solemn moment, a discouraging view of the obligations I was going to contract, and a consciousness of my own insufficiency and weakness, made the deepest impression upon me; I was seized with a sort of terror; my voice lost its usual tone, my tongue faltered, and the words of the regal oath, though dear to my heart, which acquiesces in them perfectly, could not find an utterance: but when I turned my eyes to you, Mr. Primate, when I heard you repeat the words of the oath, I could not behold you in any other light than as the minister of the Most High, and therefore thought it my duty to submit to your guidance. Since the clamours of discord and party-hatred have been reduced to silence by your venerable presence; since a multitude of tongues, which spoke each a different language, have become all of a sudden, as it were by a miracle, the unanimous echoes of yours; you must certainly be filled with the Holy Spirit, that spirit of power, wisdom, and truth. Hitherto you have been my guide. Be still my kind assistant and counsellor. Continue to cherish and keep alive the zeal and attachment of those loyal hearts which your goodness and humanity gained over to my cause. Let your wisdom and resolution concur with my best

endeavour

endeavour to hold with dignity, and manage with prudence, the helm of government, at which you have been charged by the nation to place me. As the marshal of the diet has been joined with you in this commission, both inclination and duty oblige me to address myself to him also on this occasion.

You desire me to speak, sir, and it is with the utmost pleasure that I comply with this desire. I thereby have an opportunity of declaring that I love and honour your person, your virtues, and your talents. This declaration is not the effect of that warm gratitude that impels me to speak to you at this time; it is the effect of a long observation of those qualities which have produced one fruit; and may that fruit always prove agreeable to our dear country! You, sir, are called to appear before the throne, as the representative of that spirited and respectable nobility, which commands me to govern the republic according to the laws; and it is natural, that I should be desirous of employing the good offices of one whose person is so agreeable, and whose testimony is so weighty as yours, to assure that nobility of the sincerity of my resolutions and intentions with respect to that important object. Tell that nobility, that it is my fixed purpose to employ the remainder of my days, and all the means and opportunities that it shall please the Divine Providence to place within the extent of my power, in answering the expectations of my dear countrymen: but at the same time exhort them, conjure them, to lend their zealous succours to a sovereign who has their happiness and prosperity deeply at heart, and who will never aim at any other object than the public good. Where is the person that does not see, and also feel, the disorders and calamities under which the nation labours? A dismal experience points out too plainly the pernicious source whence these calamities flow. Self-interest and envy have produced discord, and thus thrown all things into confusion. A spirit of faction has perplexed our councils, and thus rendered impotent the natural instruments of our safety and of our glory; and those treasures that ought to have been employed in maintaining the vigour and splendour of this republic, are become the prey of that fatal luxury, whose pernicious effects increase from day to day. Let our union then heal those calamities, which all other means will be insufficient to remove! You know by experience, that a few tools of faction can destroy with more facility than the majority can build. Let emulation, that useful virtue, that seems

to border upon envy, from which nevertheleſs it differs extremely, animate our efforts. Let us all run the noble race of patriotiſm, and endeavour to ſurpaſs one another, in aiming at true merit, and propoſing to ourſelves no other glory but that which is acquired by ſerving our country. But to what will amount the deſires and the projects of feeble mortals, if they are not ſeconded by him whoſe word commands nations and empires to riſe or fall? Great God! whoſe hand has raiſed me to the high ſtation I now fill, thou doeſt nothing in vain. Thou haſt given me the crown; and thou haſt given me with it an ardent deſire to reſtore this kingdom to its former proſperity and grandeur. Finiſh, therefore, thy own work! Let my prayer ariſe to the throne of thee, by whom kings reign! Inſpire the hearts of this people with that zeal for the public that fills mine!

No. V.

COPY *of a* DECLARATION *delivered on the 4th of November* 1766, *to the* KING *and* REPUBLIC *of* POLAND, *by Mr.* WROUGHTON, *the* BRITISH MINISTER *at* WARSAW, *in behalf of the* DISSIDENTS *of that Kingdom.*

HIS britannic majeſty, ever excited by reaſonable deſires of protecting by all methods the chriſtian proteſtants, eſpecially thoſe who, by virtue of particular conventions, have a right to expect his aſſiſtance, finds himſelf obliged to repeat his preſſing repreſentations in favour of that oppreſſed part of the poliſh nation, known by the name of Diſſidents; wherefore the underſigned, in conformity to freſh orders from the king, his moſt gracious ſovereign, has the honour to repreſent to you, ſir, and to the republic of Poland, that his britannic majeſty, beſides the many ſolid motives of juſtice and humanity, which give him reaſon to hope for a happy ſucceſs of the preſent negotiations relative to this affair, finding himſelf compelled, by a ſtrict alliance with the courts of Peterſburg, Berlin, and Copenhagen, to intereſt himſelf in behalf of the Diſſidents, in all the forms of law, and in quality of guarantee of the treaty of peace of Oliva, wiſhes that, in the preſent diet, this virtuous but unhappy part of the poliſh ſubjects may be re-

eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, as members of the ſtate, in the poſſeſſion of their rights and privileges, as well as in the peaceable enjoyment of their mode of worſhip, which every one knows belonged to them before the ſigning of the ſaid treaty of Oliva. At the ſame time his britannic majeſty conſiders how great is the connection between the intereſts even of the republic and the juſtice of this affair, as well as the fundamental laws of the kingdom: laws which were not only obſerved for two centuries, but renewed by treaties with the northern powers, ſo ſolemn, that they do not permit the leaſt alteration to be undertaken, unleſs with the general conſent of the contracting parties. For theſe cauſes his britannic majeſty, filled with confidence of the equity and penetration of his poliſh majeſty, who, from the beginning of his reign, has given ſo many teſtimonies of zeal for the happineſs of mankind, and of love towards the adminiſtration of juſtice in the republic, has not the leaſt doubt that his juſt deſires will no longer be oppoſed by references to inefficacious conſtitutions, eſtabliſhed in the midſt of inteſtine troubles, contradicted by the formal proteſtations and expreſs declarations on the part of foreign powers.

Although the rights and privileges of the Diſſidents are founded on a doctrine, whoſe principles of charity and benevolence make it characteriſtical of chriſtianity; and the divinity of its inſtitutor, who firſt preached it, renders it ſtill leſs a matter of doubt; yet it is this religion, of which the exerciſe is diſturbed, and of which its profeſſors are excluded from all honourable employments, and deprived of all means of ſerving their country. Nevertheleſs, their rights and privileges have been confirmed to them by many ordinances of the kingdom, ſettled by ſo many treaties, ſupported on foundations ſo ſacred and ſo evident to the eyes of all nations, that the underſigned miniſter of a monarch who preſerves towards the republic the ſincereſt ſentiments of friendſhip, and of inclination to give proofs of them on every occaſion, flatters himſelf, that the mediation of the king his maſter will produce the effects which he may naturally promiſe himſelf; that the wiſdom of the nation aſſembled will afford a remedy to the evils which rend the ſtate, and oppreſs the Diſſidents; and that, with regard to things eccleſiaſtical and civil, they may be re-eſtabliſhed in the ſituation they were in before the treaty of Oliva. As to the reſt, the ſincere wiſhes

of

of his britannic majesty for the glory of the king of Poland, and for the prosperity of the republic, are so notorious, that it would be useless to give fresh assurances of them. In the meanwhile, the undersigned cannot avoid reiterating them, as an inconteastable proof of their reality.

(Signed) WROUGHTON.

No. VI.

The LETTER *from the* KING *of* PRUSSIA, *mentioned* vol. i. *was couched in the following terms:*

MADAM, MY SISTER,

I MUST begin by thanking your imperial majesty for the favour you have conferred upon me in the communication of your work on legislation. Permit me to say, that it is a business which has had but few examples in the world; and I may venture to add, madam, that your imperial majesty is the first empress who has made such a present as that which I have just now received. The antient Greeks, who were all appretiators of merit, in their deifications of great men, assigned the first place to legislators, whom they deemed the true benefactors of the human race. They would have placed your imperial majesty between Lycurgus and Solon.

I made it my first duty, madam, to read the excellent work which your majesty has vouchsafed to compose; and, that I might keep my mind free from all prepossession, I considered it as coming from a well-known pen. I confess to you, madam, that I was charmed, not only with the principle of humanity and gentleness that give birth to these laws, but also with the order, with the association of ideas, with the uncommon clearness and precision that reign in this work, and the immense variety of knowledge disseminated throughout.

I put myself, madam, in your place, and I immediately perceived that every country demands particular considerations, which require the legislator to comply with the genius of the nation,

nation, in the same manner as the gardener accommodates himself to his soil. There are designs which your imperial majesty is satisfied with pointing out, and on which your prudence prevents you from insisting. In a word, madam, though I am not thoroughly acquainted with the genius of the people whom you govern with so much glory, I see enough of it to persuade me, that if they govern themselves by your laws, they will be the happiest nation in the world; and since your imperial majesty is desirous of knowing all that I think on that matter, I deem it a duty incumbent on me to tell it naturally.

It is, madam, that good laws, formed on the principles that you have traced out, will require lawyers for their being put in execution in your vast domains; and I think, madam, that, after the good you have just been doing in legislation, you have another boon to grant, which is, the institution of an academy of law, for the education of persons designed for the bar, as well judges as advocates. However simple the several laws may be, cases of litigation, cases complicated and obscure, will arise, in which it will be necessary to draw up truth from the well, which require expert advocates and judges to unravel them.

This, on my honour, is all that I have to say to your imperial majesty, unless it be, madam, that this estimable monument of your labor and your activity, with which you condescend to trust me, shall be preserved as one of the choicest pieces in my library. Were there any thing, madam, capable of augmenting my admiration, it would be the benefit you have herein bestowed upon your immense people.

Accept, with your accustomed goodness, the assurances of the high consideration with which I am,

Madam, my sister,

Your imperial majesty's good brother and ally,

(Signed) FREDERIC.

No.

No. VII.

COPY *of a* LETTER *of her* IMPERIAL MAJESTY *of all the* RUSSIAS, *to his Excellency Count* VLADIMIR ORLOF, *Director of the Academy of Sciences at* PETERSBURG.

MONS. COUNT ORLOF,

HAVING been informed, that in the ſummer of the year 1769, the planet Venus will paſs over the ſun, I write you this letter, that you may acquaint the academy of ſciences on my part, 1. That it is my pleaſure that the academy ſhould procure the obſervations to be made with the utmoſt care; and that I deſire, in conſequence, to know, 2. which are the moſt advantageouſly ſituated places of the empire that the academy has deſtined for this obſervation; to the end that, in caſe it ſhould be neceſſary to erect any buildings, workmen, &c. may be ſent, and proper meaſures be taken. 3. That if there be not a ſufficient number of aſtronomers in the academy for completing the obſervations in the places pitched upon by the academy, I propoſe, and take upon me to find out, among my marine ſubjects, ſuch as, during the interval between the preſent time and the tranſit of Venus, may be perfected in the habit of obſerving under the eyes of the profeſſors, ſo as to be employed to advantage in this expedition, and to the ſatisfaction of the academy. You will, Mr. Count, tranſmit me the anſwer of the academy, with its full opinion about every thing above, that I may give orders for the whole without loſs of time.

CATHARINE.

Moſco, 3 March 1767.

COPY *of a* LETTER *from M.* RAMOFSKY, *of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at* PETERSBURG, *to Mr.* SHORT, *of the Royal Society of* LONDON.

SIR,

I EXPECTED your letter impatiently, and received it the 15th of October. We were ſomewhat in doubt as to our anſwering the

the views of our ſovereign, till the arrival of your letter, which diſſipated our uneaſineſs in reſpect of the inſtruments. Judge yourſelf, ſir, how ſatisfactory it was to us to underſtand that you would take upon you to procure us the neceſſary inſtruments, and, moreover, to give us your advice how to proceed ſucceſsfully in this important obſervation.

I thank you, ſir, in the name of the academy, and on my account eſpecially, hoping a more favourable occaſion of teſtifying my obligations. At preſent, I refer to your judgment the meaſures the academy has taken with relation to the tranſit of Venus.

Purſuant to her imperial majeſty's orders, in a letter to his excellency count Vladimir Orlof, director of the academy, the copy whereof I herewith ſend you; the academy having repreſented, that the propereſt places in the ruſſian empire for the obſervation of the duration of the tranſit, are Kola and the parts near it, and for the exit, the borders of the Caſpian-ſea, has beſeeched her majeſty to be pleaſed to ſend two obſervers to the north, and two off the Caſpian. The ſtations named by the academy are Kola, Solowetſkoi monaſtir, Aſtrakhan, and Orenburg. The empreſs, in accordance to the repreſentations of the academy, apprehenſive of the precarious ſtate of the weather, at the end of May, at Kola and thereabouts, has been pleaſed to diſtribute four other obſervers among thoſe quarters. The academy, availing itſelf of the high protection her imperial majeſty has deigned to extend to this enterpriſe, has determined one to Yakutſk, where the duration will not be two and a-half leſs than at Kola, Torneao, and Cajaneburg.

Mr. Wargentin has informed me, that Mr. Mallet of Upſal is preparing for Torneao, and Mr. Planmann for his former Cajaneburg; ſo that this country will be ſo ſecure in ſuch a multiplicity of obſervers, that it may be well hoped that ſome ſtation or other will not fail of affording a complete obſervation of this phænomenon.

St. Peterſburg, 23d October 1767.

No. VIII.

MANIFESTO *of the* GRAND SIGNIOR, *concerning the War declared by his* HIGHNESS *againſt the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA, *delivered the 30th of October 1767, to the* FOREIGN MINISTERS *reſiding at* CONSTANTINOPLE.

IT may clearly be ſeen by what follows, that the Sublime Porte has ſtrictly obſerved the articles of the peace eſtabliſhed between this empire and the court of Ruſſia, who, on the contrary, has infringed them in many inſtances.

The court of Ruſſia, againſt the faith of treaties, has not deſiſted from building various fortreſſes on the frontiers of the two ſtates, and has provided them with troops and ammunition.

In the year 1177 (or 1763), on the death of Auguſtus the third, king of Poland, the republic of Poland, intending, according to the ſyſtem of the poliſh liberty, to proceed to the election of a king, the court of Ruſſia ſet up for a king a private poliſh officer, in whoſe family there had never been any king, and to whom loyalty was not becoming; and has, by ſiding with this king, intruded on and traverſed, againſt the will of the republic, all the affairs of the Poles. The Porte having given notice of this to the ruſſian reſident, he declared that the republic of Poland having required a certain number of troops to protect its own liberty, ſix thouſand horſe and one thouſand kozaks were granted for that purpoſe, who had neither cannon nor ammunition with them, and were to be under the command of the republic, and that there was not a ſingle ruſſian ſoldier above that number in Poland. Yet, when he was aſked, ſome time after, why the court of Ruſſia had ſent more troops into Poland, and why violence had been uſed on the election of Poniatoſsky, ſon of one of the grandees of Poland, the ſaid reſident aſſured, by a writing ſigned with his hand, that his court had not declared for any perſon, nor had ever made uſe of violent means for the election of any one whatſoever. Notwithſtanding this aſſurance and declaration, the court of Ruſſia has been continually ſending troops, cannon, and ammunition, under the command of its own generals, who continued to attack the poliſh liberty, and put to death thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to the

the perſon that themſelves had not elected for their king, and who was not the ſon of a king; ſtripping them, with clamour and violence, of their goods and eſtates. Such a conduct being productive of confuſion in the good order of the Sublime Porte, he was given to underſtand that, according to the tenor of the articles of the old and new imperial capitulations, the court of Ruſſia muſt order her troops to evacuate Poland; this the ſaid reſident promiſed by ſeveral memorials ſigned; but this promiſe has not been fulfilled. In the meantime, the Sublime Porte received advice, that ſome ruſſian troops had been ſent to Balta, (one of the muſſulman frontiers) with ſome artillery, and had unexpectedly attacked the muſſulmans, and maſſacred upwards of a thouſand perſons, men, women, and children.

The Sublime Porte, having again demanded ſatisfaction from the court of Ruſſia for this outrage, which, againſt the tenor of treaties, had been committed with artillery; and the khan of Krimea having alſo demanded ſatisfaction for the ſame, the ſaid Court denied the fact, alleging that the Haydamacks had done ſome damage, but that care would be taken to puniſh them; although it is notorious that the Haydamacks never make uſe of cannon nor bombs in their irruptions: The Sublime Porte, notwithſtanding, ſtill perſiſted in requiring ſatisfaction for ſuch a conduct, and ſtill demanded the reaſon why the court of Ruſſia would not, theſe three years paſt, withdraw its troops from Poland, ſince the articles of the treaty, concluded in 1133 (1719), and that of 1152 (1738), ſtipulate, "That as often as any event ſhall happen capable of diſturbing the perpetual peace of the two empires, they ſhould proceed *ipſo facto* to the means of terminating them in an amicable manner;" nevertheleſs the outrages and devaſtations at Balta have been denied, and the puniſhment of thoſe who had the boldneſs to be guilty of them has been poſtponed and even neglected. The ſilence itſelf of the ruſſian reſident, who having been invited to come to the Porte to anſwer for this proceeding, and to declare what his court meant by ſtill keeping its troops in Poland, proves the infraction of the treaty. At laſt he was aſked definitely, whether, according to the ancient and new treaties which ſubſiſt between the two empires, the court of Ruſſia would deſiſt from meddling with the affairs of Poland, under pretence of guarantee and promiſe; he replied, that his full power was limited, and that he could not anſwer

thereupon, since that article was known to his court only. Such a behaviour plainly demonstrates that the above-mentioned power thinks proper to take upon itself the infraction of treaties: therefore it is, that the illustrious doctors of the law have given by *fetras* (or legal sentences) their answers, that, "according to the exigency of justice, it was necessary to make war against the Moscovites:" an opinion that has been unanimously confirmed. Thus the arrest of the said resident being become necessary, we give by these presents notice to all the powers of Europe, that the said resident shall be guarded in the castle of the Seven Towers; and that, during the whole time that this transaction has lasted, the Sublime Porte has done nothing that might break the friendship, nor any thing contrary to the articles of the treaties concluded between the two empires, &c.

The DECLARATION *of the* IMPERIAL COURT *of* RUSSIA *to the* COURTS *of* EUROPE *upon the Arrest of its Minister resident at* CONSTANTINOPLE.

HER imperial majesty, in taking a part in the transactions of the republic of Poland, as humanity on one side, and the obligations of her crown on the other, had prompted her, was no less careful to conduct herself in such a manner as not to give any umbrage to a jealous and powerful neighbour; every part of her conduct was public; and she had likewise a particular attention to communicate in confidence to the ottoman Porte her resolutions upon every step she took, and the conduct she intended to observe, till the peace and tranquillity of that kingdom was entirely re-established. But the enemies to the peace of these two empires were not wanting to blacken at the Porte all the actions of her imperial majesty, and to sow there the seeds of discord by the most false imputations. The Porte, restrained by the upright conduct the court of Russia continued to maintain towards them, listened, but it was with caution, to the calumny that was spread. Some attention to the affairs of Poland, and an impartial examination of what Russia had done, compared with the overtures made by that court at the Porte, had dispelled all suspicion, and the public tranquillity seemed to be no more threatened. The common enemies, however, repeated their insinuations with more rage and audacity than ever, to impose upon the credulity of the turkish nation, and infused a

ſpirit of diſcontent among them, which called for the notice of government; for it had forced its way even into the ſeraglio. The change in the miniſtry, brought about by theſe events, ſoon produced a revolution in the ſyſtem of peace, equally dear to both nations. The new vizir, upon his advancement, immediately ſent for Mr. Obreſkoi, her imperial majeſty's reſident at the Porte, and, after having cauſed to be read in his preſence a declaration full of heavy charges againſt his court, part of which have already been invalidated by the moſt fair and candid explanations, and others that had never exiſted, or were ever thought of, the vizir preſſed him to ſign immediately, under the guarantee of the allies of his ſovereign, ſome very offenſive conditions, in regard to which there never had been made the leaſt propoſal during the whole courſe of the operations in Poland. Theſe conditions, very derogatory to the honour and glory of an empreſs accuſtomed to receive no law, propoſed in a tone and form repugnant to the freedom of negotiation adopted by every power, were attended with the alternative of an immediate rupture of the perpetual peace between the two empires. The ruſſian miniſter, confident of the upright intentions of his court, and conſcious of the probity of his own conduct, as having fulfilled the duties of a long miniſtry, was incapable of unworthily degrading his court and his own character by a humiliating engagement, and which would have exceeded the power and commiſſion of any miniſter, let them be ever ſo extenſive; he gave therefore a poſitive refuſal, as became his honour and his duty; and the reſolution of the divan, which followed immediately after, was to arreſt him, and part of his retinue, and carry him to the caſtle of the Seven Towers. It would be needleſs for the imperial court of Ruſſia to dwell any longer upon this event, or to enter here into an examination of it. The fact ſpeaks for itſelf. The honour and glory of her imperial majeſty —the regard to her empire, point out the part it is right for her to take. Confiding in the juſtice of her cauſe, ſhe appeals to all chriſtian courts on the ſituation ſhe finds herſelf in with regard to the common enemy of chriſtianity; certain as ſhe is, that her conduct will meet with equal approbation from each of them, and that ſhe ſhall have the advantage to join to the divine protection the juſt aſſiſtance of her friends, and the good wiſhes of all Chriſtendom.

No. IX.

A LETTER *from M.* DE VOLTAIRE *to the* RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR *at* PARIS.

I SEE by the letters which her imperial majesty and your excellency honour me with, how greatly your nation is rising, while I am afraid that, in some respects, ours is beginning to degenerate. The empress deigns herself to translate that chapter of Belisarius, which some college-fellows traduce at Paris. We should be overwhelmed with shame and scorn, if all the men of worth, of whom there is a great number in France, did not strongly stand up against the egregious scandal of the times. Folly, ignorance, and envy, there will always be in any country; but then there will also be in it science and good taste. I dare even aver to you that, in general, our principal military, and, as to what concerns the counsel, our counsellors of state, and the masters of requests, are more enlightened than they were in the shining age of Lewis the fourteenth. Great talents are still rare; but science and reason are more common than they.

I see with pleasure that there is forming in Europe an immense republic of cultivated understandings. The light diffuses and communicates itself on all sides. I have things come to me from the north that astonish me. Within these last fifteen years there has been operated a revolution in the human understanding, that will form a great epoch. The outcries of the pedants proclaim the approach of this great change, as the croaking of the crows forebodes fair weather.

I know nothing of the book of M. de la Riviere, which you do me the honour of mentioning to me; but can hardly believe that the author, while avoiding the faults into which M. de Montesquieu may have fallen, has gone beyond him in those points in which that shining genius is in the right. I shall send for his book; and in the meanwhile congratulate the author on his being so near such a sovereign and empress who patronizes all the talents in foreigners, and whose maternal care gives birth to them in her own dominions. But it is you whom I especially congratulate on representing her so worthily at Paris.

I have the honour to be, &c.

No,

No. X.

COUNTER-DECLARATION *of the* COURT *of* WARSAW.

THE underwritten miniſters of the king and republic of Poland, having laid before his majeſty the declarations given in on the 18th and 26th of September, by the miniſters from the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Berlin; and his majeſty having taken the advice of his ſenate thereupon, the underwritten are commanded to make the following anſwer thereto:

The diſintereſted and ſucceſsful pains of her Majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, to preſerve tranquillity in Poland during the laſt interregnum, and promote the free election of the reigning king, univerſally recognized; the concurrence of the king of Pruſſia in the ſame deſigns; and the ſyſtem of neutrality at that time adopted by the empreſs-queen; are circumſtances which, appreciated as they ought to be by the king, will never be effaced from his memory or heart.

The king is happy in ſeeing the regulations and internal eſtabliſhments of the diets, immediately ſucceeding the death of Auguſtus III. declared "uſeful and ſalutary" by the three powers: he would ever wiſh the emanations of the ſovereign power of the republic to be regarded with a favourable eye by all his neighbours.

All Europe is long ſince informed of the original and ſucceſſive cauſes of the preſent troubles in Poland: all Europe knows, that the king, and the ſoundeſt part of the nation, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to prevent the riſe and ſtop the progreſs of them; unfortunately theſe efforts have been unſucceſsful; and certainly the conſequences have been dreadful. The ſupreme and legal authority of the ſtate has been denied by ſome; anarchy has ſpread itſelf over the provinces; all Poland has been impoveriſhed, ravaged, trodden under foot, as well by her own citizens, as by foreign troops: ſhe has felt, and all Europe has ſeen, thoſe ſufferings proportioned to the length of time theſe troops have been in the country, the orders of their reſpective courts, and the manner in which their orders have been put in execution.

In a word, five years of ſcourge and deſolation have ruined this country, and make the return of peace a matter of urgent and indiſpenſable neceſſity.

The engagements entered into by the three powers, to co-operate in effectuating this great work, appeared, therefore, full of humanity, and would have been regarded by the king with the livelieſt gratitude, if the latter part of their declaration had left room for any ſentiment but thoſe of the utmoſt ſurpriſe and the moſt profound grief.

Theſe courts pretend conſiderable claims on the unhappy Poland: a plan of indemnification, the actual and effectual ſeizure of equivalents, are avowed.

The ſtrict attention of the king and republic to fulfil all their engagements with theſe powers; the laws of good neighbourhood ſo religiouſly obſerved by Poland; the manner ſo friendly and full of regard, in which the king has repreſented, on ſo many occaſions, the different ſubjects of complaint he had unfortunately had againſt his neighbours; the preſent ſituation of Poland, ſo worthy in all reſpects of the compaſſion of generous and ſenſible minds; all ſhould have ſecured to him the return of mutual good-will, and protected him for ever from enterpriſes ſo injurious to his rights and the legality of his poſſeſſions.

The rights of the republic to all her provinces have every poſſible mark of ſolidity and authenticity; an uninterrupted poſſeſſion of many ages, avowed and maintained by the moſt ſolemn treaties, and particularly by thoſe of Velaw and Oliva, guaranteed by the houſe of Auſtria, by the crowns of France, England, Spain, and Sweden; by the treaty of 1686, with Ruſſia; by the expreſs and recent declarations of this laſt power; by thoſe of Pruſſia in 1764; and laſtly, by treaties with the houſe of Auſtria ſtill in full force and vigour; on theſe foundations the rights of the republic are grounded.

The court of Warſaw contents itſelf with barely pointing them out at preſent, reſerving the right of ſupporting them by proofs more ample and particular in time and place.

What titles can the three powers oppoſe to theſe? If they are titles dug out of the obſcurity of ancient times, of thoſe times of ſudden and momentary revolutions, which erected and deſtroyed, ceded and reſtored ſtates in the ſhort ſpace of a few months or years; theſe titles, if admitted, would re-unite to the kingdom of

of Poland many provinces which formerly belonged to it, but have for many years been occupied by the very powers who now form pretenſions on her.

But as it is undeniable, that not only tranſactions buried in the oblivion of diſtant ages, but all tranſactions whatever, are annihilated by ſubſequent ſtipulations; as all the latter ſtipulations between Poland and her neighbours oppoſe directly the partition they now would make, it follows, that the titles on which that partition is founded cannot be admitted, without undermining the rights of every ſtate, without ſhaking every throne from its foundation.

The very powers who declare that the ſituation of Poland will not permit them to obtain juſtice in the ordinary ways of proceedings, cannot be ignorant that its preſent ſituation is accidental and momentary; that it is in their own power to change it. Their conſent alone is wanting to reſtore the republic to the free and lawful exerciſe of its independent ſovereignty. That would be time to produce and examine their claims. This is the method of proceeding which the king had a right to demand from the equity of the three courts, which he could not but expect to be adopted, relying on the letter written to him by the empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, on the 28th of January 1771.

But the preſent proceedings of the three courts, giving the moſt ſerious object of complaint to the king; and the duties of his crown not permitting him to be ſilent on this occaſion, he declares in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he looks upon the actual ſeizure of the provinces of Poland by the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Berlin, as unjuſt, violent, and contrary to his lawful rights; he appeals to the treaties and powers guarantees of his kingdom and its appurtenances. And, laſtly, full of confidence in the juſtice of the Almighty, he lays his rights at the feet of the eternal throne, and puts his cauſe into the hands of the King of kings, the ſupreme judge of nations: and, in the full aſſurance of his ſuccour, he proteſts ſolemnly, and before the whole univerſe, againſt every ſtep taken, or to be taken, towards the diſmembering of Poland.

Given at Warſaw, Oct. 17th, 1772.

Signed by the great chancellors of Poland and Lithuania.

Declaration *of the* Imperial Minister *at the* Court *of* Warsaw.

HER majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia has seen, with unspeakable astonishment, the little impression made by the declaration presented to his polish majesty by the underwritten, and the ministers from Petersburg and Berlin, in order to accelerate a definitive arrangement between the republic and the three neighbouring powers, touching the pretensions formed by the said powers on Poland; pretensions which the essential interests of their crowns will not permit them to expose to the hazard of future contingencies, and of those troubles with which Poland has at all times been agitated.

The justice and dignity of the three courts prescribe bounds to their moderation: this truth can neither escape the discernment of his polish majesty, nor be indifferent to his heart, if the cries of his country have preserved their influence there.

Her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia hopes, therefore, that the king will not expose his kingdom to events which must be the consequences of his delay to assemble a diet, and enter on a negotiation, which alone can save his country, restore vigour to the constitution of the republic, which has received so many and so dangerous shocks; and terminate the evils to which private interest, ambition, hatred, and dissentions, have given rise.

Done at Warsaw, Dec. 4th, 1772.

(Signed) RZEWICKI.

Note.—The ministers from Petersburg and Berlin delivered the next day each a declaration in the same words.

Answer *of the* Court *of* Warsaw *to the preceding Piece.*

IN answer to the declarations of the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, the underwritten have orders to inform the ministers of the said courts, that the king, being informed of their desires respecting the convocation of a diet, and of the inconveniencies which may arise from delays, is determined to comply, as far as it is in his power, not only with the view of taking

taking away all pretexts of aggravating the evils which afflict Poland, but under the hopes that this mark of regard will operate on the generosity of the three powers, so as to induce them to put a speedy end to these troubles, in a manner the most equitable and advantageous to the republic.

In consequence hereof, his majesty has issued circular letters for the convocation of a full council of the senate, which must indispensably precede the summoning of a diet; and has fixed the same to the 8th of February following; a term which leaves no more than the time absolutely necessary for the arrival of the distant senators.

Done at Warsaw, this 14th of December, 1772.

Signed by the chancellors of Poland and Lithunia.

No. XI.

EXTRACT *of a* LETTER *from* CATHARINE II. *late* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA, *to M.* DE VOLTAIRE.

SIR,

The brightness of the nothern star is a mere aurora borealis. It is nothing more than giving to a neighbour something of our own superfluity. But to be the advocate of human kind, the defender of oppressed innocence; by this you will be indeed immortalized. The two causes of Calas and Sirven have procured you the veneration due to such miracles. You have combated the united enemies of mankind, superstition, fanaticism, ignorance, chicane, bad judges, and the power lodged in them all together. To surmount such obstacles required both talents and virtue. You have shewn the world that you possess both. You have carried your point. You desire, sir, some relief for the Sirven family. Can I possibly refuse it? Or, should you praise me for the action, would there be the least foundation for it? I own to you, that I should be much better pleased if my bill of exchange could pass unknown. Nevertheless, if you think my name, unharmonious as it is, may be of any service to those victims of the spirit of persecution, I leave it to your discretion; and you may announce me, provided it be no way prejudicial to the parties.

No.

No. XII.

The MANIFESTO *concerning the* REBELLION *of* PUGATSHEF.

BY the grace of GOD, we Catharine II. empreſs and autocratrix of all the Ruſſias, &c. make known to all our faithful ſubjects, that we have learnt, with the utmoſt indignation and extreme affliction, that a certain kozak, a deſerter and fugitive from the Don, named Ikhelman Pugatſhef, after having traverſed Poland, has been collecting for ſome time paſt in the diſtricts that border on the river Irghis in the government of Orenburg, a troop of vagabonds like himſelf; that he continues to commit in thoſe parts all kinds of exceſſes, by inhumanly depriving the inhabitants of their poſſeſſions and even of their lives; and that in order to draw over to his party, hitherto compoſed of robbers, ſuch perſons as he meets, and eſpecially the unhappy patriots, on whoſe credulity he impoſes, he has had the inſolence to arrogate to himſelf the name of the late emperor Peter III. It would be ſuperfluous here to prove the abſurdity of ſuch an impoſture, which cannot even put on a ſhadow of probability in the eyes of ſenſible perſons: for, thanks to the divine goodneſs, thoſe ages are paſſed in which the ruſſian empire was plunged in ignorance and barbariſm; when a Griſka, an Outreper, with their adherents, and ſeveral other traitors to their country, made uſe of impoſtures as groſs and deteſtable, to arm brother againſt brother, and citizen againſt citizen.

Since thoſe æras, which it is grievous to recollect, all true patriots have enjoyed the fruits of public tranquillity, and ſhudder with horror at the very remembrance of former troubles. In a word, there is not a man deſerving of the ruſſian name who does not hold in abomination the odious and inſolent lie by which Pugatſhef fancies himſelf able to ſeduce and to deceive perſons of a ſimple and credulous diſpoſition, by promiſing to free them from the bonds of ſubmiſſion and obedience to their ſovereign, as if the Creator of the univerſe had eſtabliſhed human ſocieties in ſuch a manner as that they can ſubſiſt without an intermediate authority between the ſovereign and the people.

Nevertheleſs, as the inſolence of this vile refuſe of the human race is attended with conſequences pernicious to the provinces adjacent

adjacent to that diſtrict; as the report of the flagrant enormities which he has committed may affright thoſe perſons who are accuſtomed to imagine the misfortunes of others as ready to fall upon them, and as we watch with indefatigable care over the tranquillity of our faithful ſubjects, we inform them by the preſent manifeſto, that we have taken, without delay, ſuch meaſures as are the beſt adapted to ſtifle the ſedition: and in order to annihilate totally the ambitious deſigns of Pugatſhef, and to exterminate a band of robbers, who have been audacious enough to attack the ſmall military detachments diſperſed about thoſe countries, and to maſſacre the officers who were taken priſoners, we have diſpatched thither, with a competent number of troops, general Alexander Bibikof, general in chief of our armies, and major of our regiment of life-guards.

Accordingly we have no doubt of the happy ſucceſs of theſe meaſures, and we cheriſh the hope that the public tranquillity will ſoon be reſtored, and that the profligates who are ſpreading devaſtation over a part of the government of Orenburg will ſhortly be diſperſed. We are moreover perſuaded that our faithful ſubjects will juſtly abhor the impoſture of the rebel Pugatſhef, as deſtitute of all probability, and will repel the artifices of the ill-diſpoſed, who ſeek and find their advantage in the ſeduction of the weak and credulous, and who cannot aſſuage their avidity but by ravaging their country, and by ſhedding of innocent blood.

We truſt with equal confidence that every true ſon of the country will unremittedly fulfil his duty, of the contributing to the maintenance of good order and of public tranquillity, by preſerving himſelf from the ſnares of ſeduction, and by duly diſcharging his obedience to his lawful ſovereign. All our faithful ſubjects therefore may diſpel their alarms and live in perfect ſecurity, ſince we employ our utmoſt care, and make it our peculiar glory, to preſerve their property and to extend the general felicity.

Given at St. Peterſburg, Dec. 23, 1773. O. S.

No. XIII.

DECLARATION *of* BARON STACKELBERG, *Minister of* RUSSIA, *to the* KING *and the* SENATE *of* POLAND *.

THE powers in the vicinity of Poland have been so often involved in the troubles which almost every vacancy of the throne has excited in that kingdom, that from the recollection of the past it behoved them to give the most serious attention to the affairs of the polish nation, as soon as, by the death of the late king, Augustus III. the throne was become vacant.

Urged by these considerations, and desirous of preventing the dreadful effects of those dissensions, which, as in former instances, might have arisen at this last vacancy of the throne, the court of St. Petersburg hastened to take all possible measures to unite the citizens of Poland in favour of the candidate who should appear to be most worthy of the throne, most agreeable to his fellow-citizens, and most acceptable to the neighbouring powers.

This court applied herself at the same time, and with equal zeal, to the rectifying of many abuses and defects in the constitution, which had been equally prejudicial to Poland and her neighbours.

The court of Berlin seconded the attempts of her ally. And the court of Vienna, desirous, on her part, of contributing to the success of such laudable views, but willing, at the same time, to avoid the danger of augmenting the difficulties and intricacies which might arise from multiplying the number of those who undertook openly and directly to settle the affairs of Poland, thought proper to observe the most exact neutrality, with regard both to the arrangement of the affairs of Poland, and the war which was afterwards kindled on this subject between Russia and the Porte.

The immediate consequences of these measures were the free and legal election of Stanislaus Augustus †, reigning king of

* This declaration shews what false and insidious language the authors of the desolations dared to hold.

† And it was to the Poles that the minister Stackelberg had the assurance to say, that the election of Poniatofsky had been free and legal!

Poland,

Poland, and the forming of many useful and salutary establishments. In a word, every thing seemed to promise to Poland and her neighbours a firm and lasting tranquillity.

But unhappily in the midst of these promising appearances, the spirit of discord seized upon one part of the nation: citizen armed against citizen: the sons of faction seized the reins of authority; and laws and order, and public safety, and justice, and police, and commerce, and agriculture, all are either gone to ruin, or stand on the brink of destruction. And the excesses of every kind, natural consequences of such an anarchy, will bring on the total dissolution of the state, if not timely prevented.

The connections between nations which border on each other are so intimate, that the subjects of the neighbouring powers have already felt the most disagreeable effects from these disorders. These powers are obliged, at a great expence, to take measures of precaution, in order to secure the tranquillity of their own frontiers; they are exposed to the uncertain but possible consequences of the entire dissolution of Poland; to the danger of seeing their mutual harmony and good friendship destroyed; the maintenance of which, at the same time that it secures their own peace and tranquillity, is a matter of the highest importance to all Europe.

From this view of things it will appear, that nothing can be of a more urgent necessity than to apply an immediate remedy to evils from which the neighbouring nations have already experienced the most disagreeable effects; and the consequences of which, if not timely prevented, must bring on such changes in the political system of this part of Europe as may be fatal to the general tranquillity.

Impelled by reasons so many and so weighty, her majesty the empress of all the Russias, her majesty the empress dowager queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majesty the king of Prussia, find themselves under a necessity of taking a decisive part, in circumstances so very critical. And their said majesties have determined among themselves, without loss of time, and with one accord, to take the most effectual and best-combined measures, for the purpose of re-establishing tranquillity and good order in Poland, to stop the present troubles and to put the ancient constitution of that kingdom, and the liberties of the people, on a sure and solid foundation.

But

But while they take advantage of that mutual friendſhip and harmony which happily ſubſiſts between them at preſent, in order to prevent the abſolute ruin and arbitrary diſſolution of Poland; they cannot but be ſenſible how little it is in their power to promiſe themſelves in future periods the ſame happy concurrence. And as they have reſpectively very conſiderable claims on the poſſeſſions of the republic, which they cannot permit themſelves to expoſe to the hazard of poſſible contingencies, they have therefore determined among themſelves to aſſert theſe their ancient rights and lawful claims, which each of them will be ready to juſtify in time and place by authentic records and ſolid reaſons; but for which the ſituation of the republic will never leave them hopes of obtaining juſtice in the ordinary courſe of proceeding.

In conſequence hereof her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, her majeſty the empreſs dowager queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and his majeſty the king of Pruſſia, having communicated reciprocally their reſpective rights and claims, and being mutually convinced of the juſtice thereof, are determined to ſecure to themſelves a proportionable equivalent, by taking immediate and effectual poſſeſſion of ſuch parts of the territories of the republic as may ſerve to fix more natural and ſure bounds between her and the three powers: the ſaid three powers engaging to give hereafter an exact ſpecification of their reſpective quotas; and renouncing from the preſent moment all revival of right, demand, or claim, on account of damages ſuſtained, debt, intereſt, or any other pretence whatever, which they might otherwiſe have or form on the poſſeſſions or ſubjects of the republic*.

Their ſaid majeſties have thought it right to notify theſe their intentions to the whole poliſh nation in general: inviting, at the ſame time, all orders and ranks thereof to baniſh, or at leaſt to ſuſpend, all ſpirit of diſcord and deluſion, in order that, a diet being legally aſſembled, they may co-operate with their ſaid majeſties in eſtabliſhing, on a firm and ſolid foundation, the good order and tranquillity of the nation, and may at the ſame time ratify, by public and ſolemn acts, the exchange of the titles,

* It is has ſince been ſeen how faithfully theſe three powers adhered to their renunciation!

pretenſions,

pretenſions, and claims of each of their majeſties, againſt the equivalents of which they have reſpectively taken poſſeſſion.

(Signed) STACKELBERG.

Given at Warſaw, September 2, 1772†.

No. XIV.

ARMED NEUTRALITY.

The MEMORIAL *preſented to their* HIGH MIGHTINESSES *the* STATES GENERAL, *by Prince* GALLITZIN, *the Ruſſian Miniſter on the Part of the* EMPRESS *his Sovereign.*

HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS,

The underwritten envoy extraordinary from the empreſs of all the Ruſſias has the honour to communicate to you a copy of the declaration which the empreſs his ſovereign has made to the belligerent powers. Your high mightineſſes may look upon this communication as a particular mark of the attention of the empreſs for the republic, which is equally intereſted in the reaſons which occaſioned the declaration. He has further orders to declare to your high mightineſſes, in the name of her imperial majeſty, that how deſirous ſoever ſhe may be on the one hand to maintain the ſtricteſt neutrality during the preſent war, yet her majeſty is as determined to take the moſt efficacious means to ſupport the honour of the ruſſian flag, the ſecurity of the trade, and the navigation of her ſubjects, and not ſuffer either to be hurt by any of the belligerent powers: that, in order to prevent on this occaſion any miſunderſtanding or falſe interpretation, ſhe thought it neceſſary to ſpecify in the declaration the limits of a free trade, and what is called contraband: that, if the definition of the former be founded upon the cleareſt no-

* This manifeſto was delivered on the 18th of September by baron Stackelberg, miniſter from the court of Peterſburg; and by the ſieur de Benoit, miniſter from the court of Berlin; and on the 26th of September by baron Rjevitch, miniſter from the court of Vienna.

tions of natural right, the latter is literally taken from the treaty of commerce between Ruſſia and Great Britain, by which her imperial majeſty means inconteſtibly to prove her good faith and impartiality towards each party; that ſhe conſequently apprehends that the other trading powers will immediately come into her way of thinking relative to neutrality.

From theſe conſiderations, her imperial majeſty has ordered the underwritten to invite your high mightineſſes to make a common cauſe with her, as ſuch an union may ſerve to protect the trade and navigation, and at the ſame time obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and to communicate to your high mightineſſes the regulation ſhe has in conſequence taken.

The ſame invitation has been made to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Liſbon, in order that by the united endeavours of all the neutral maritime powers, a natural ſyſtem, founded on juſtice, might be eſtabliſhed and legaliſed in favour of the trade of neutral nations, which by its real advantages might ſerve for a rule for future ages.

The underwritten does not doubt but your high mightineſſes will, without delay, take the invitation of her imperial majeſty into conſideration, and concur in immediately making a declaration to the belligerent powers, founded on the ſame principles as that of the empreſs, explaining at the ſame time the nature of a free and contraband trade, conformable to their reſpective treaties with the other nations.

In concluſion, the underwritten has the honour to aſſure your high mightineſſes, that if, to eſtabliſh ſuch a glorious and advantageous ſyſtem upon the moſt ſolid baſis, you are deſirous to open a negotiation with the above-mentioned neutral powers on this ſubject, the empreſs his ſovereign is ready to join you.

Your mightineſſes will eaſily ſee the neceſſity of accelerating your reſolutions upon objects of ſuch importance and advantage for humanity in general. The underwritten begs of you to give him a ſpeedy anſwer.

DMITRI PRINCE GALLITZIN.

Hague, April 3d, 1780.

DECLARATION *from the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA *to the* COURTS *of* LONDON, VERSAILLES, *and* MADRID.

THE empreſs of all the Ruſſias has ſo fully manifeſted her ſentiments of equity and moderation, and has given ſuch evident proofs, during the courſe of the war that ſhe ſupported againſt the ottoman porte, of the regard ſhe has for the rights of neutrality and the liberty of univerſal commerce, as all Europe can witneſs; that her conduct, as well as the principles of impartiality which ſhe has diſplayed during the preſent war, juſtly inſpired her with the fulleſt confidence, that her ſubjects would peaceably enjoy the fruits of their induſtry and the advantages belonging to a neutral nation. Experience has nevertheleſs proved the contrary. Neither the above-mentioned conſiderations, nor the regard to the rights of nations, have prevented the ſubjects of her imperial majeſty from being often moleſted in their navigation, and ſtopped in their operations, by thoſe of the belligerent powers.

Theſe impediments to the liberty of trade in general, and to that of Ruſſia in particular, are of a nature to excite the attention of all neutral nations. The empreſs finds herſelf obliged therefore to ſet it free by all the means compatible with her dignity and the well-being of her ſubjects; but, before ſhe puts this deſign into execution, and with a ſincere intention to prevent any future infringements, ſhe thought it but juſt to publiſh to all Europe the principles ſhe means to follow, as the beſt adapted to prevent any miſunderſtanding, or any occurrences that may occaſion it. Her imperial majeſty does it with the more confidence, as ſhe finds theſe principles coincident with the primitive right of nations to which every people may appeal, and which the belligerent powers cannot invalidate without violating the laws of neutrality, and without diſavowing the maxims they have adopted in their ſeveral treaties and public engagements.

They are reducible to the following points:

Firſt, That all neutral ſhips may freely navigate from port to port, and on the coaſts of nations at war.

Secondly, that the effects belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid warring powers ſhall be free in all neutral veſſels, except contraband merchandiſe.

Thirdly, That the empreſs, as to the ſpecification of the above-mentioned merchandiſe, adheres to what is mentioned in the 10th and 11th articles of her treaty of commerce with Great-Britain, extending the terms of it to all the powers at war.

Fourthly, That, to determine what is meant by a blocked-up port, it is only to be underſtood of one which is ſo completely garded by the ſhips of the power that attacks it, and which are ſtationed there, that it is dangerous for any veſſel to enter it.

Fifthly, That theſe principles ſerve as a rule for proceedings and judgments upon the legality of prizes.

Her imperial majeſty, in publiſhing theſe particulars does not heſitate to declare, that for maintaining them, and for protecting the honour of her flag, the ſecurity of the trade and navigation of her ſubjects, ſhe has equipped the greateſt part of her maritime forces. This meaſure will not, however, influence the ſtrict neutrality ſhe does obſerve, and will obſerve, ſo long as ſhe is not provoked and forced to break the bounds of moderation and perfect impartiality. It will be only in this extremity that her fleet have orders to go wherever honour, intereſt, and neceſſity may require.

In giving this ſolemn aſſurance with the uſual openneſs of her character, the empreſs cannot do other than promiſe herſelf that the belligerent powers, convinced of the ſentiments of juſtice and equity which animate her, will contribute towards the accompliſhment of theſe ſalutary purpoſes, ſo manifeſtly tending to the good of all nations, and to the advantage even of thoſe at war. In conſequence of which, her imperial majeſty will furniſh her commanding officers with inſtructions conformable to the above-mentioned principles, founded upon the primitive laws of nations, and ſo often adopted in their conventions.

ANSWER *from the* COURT *of* GREAT-BRITAIN *to the* DECLARATION *of the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA; *ſent to the* BRITISH ENVOY *at* PETERSBURG, *April* 23, 1780.

DURING the courſe of the war, wherein his britannic majeſty finds himſelf engaged through the unprovoked aggreſſion of France and Spain, he hath conſtantly manifeſted his ſentiments of juſtice, equity, and moderation, in every part of his conduct. His

His majesty hath acted towards friendly and neutral powers according to their own procedure respecting Great-Britain, and conformable to the clearest principles, generally acknowledged as the law of nations, being the only law between powers where no treaties subsist, and agreeable to the tenor of his different engagements with other powers; those engagements have altered this primitive law, by mutual stipulations, proportioned to the will and convenience of the contracting parties.

Strongly attached to her majesty of all the Russias, by the ties of reciprocal friendship and common interest, the king, from the commencement of those troubles, gave the most precise orders respecting the flag of her imperial majesty, and the commerce of her subjects, agreeable to the law of nations; and the tenor of the engagements stipulated by his treaty of commerce with her, and to which he shall adhere with the most scrupulous exactness.

The orders to this intent have been renewed, and the utmost care will be taken for their strictest execution.

It may be presumed, not the least irregularity will happen; but in case any infringements, contrary to these repeated orders, take place, the courts of admiralty, which in this, like all other countries, are established to take cognizance of such matters, and in all cases do judge solely by the law of nations, and by the specific stipulations of different treaties, will redress every hardship in so equitable a manner, that her imperial majesty shall be perfectly satisfied, and acknowledge a like spirit of justice which she herself possesses.

ANSWER *from the* KING *of* FRANCE *to the* DECLARATION *of the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA.

THE war in which the king is engaged having no other motive than the attachment of his majesty to the freedom of the seas, he could not but with the truest satisfaction see the empress of Russia, adopt the same principle, and resolve to maintain it. That which her imperial majesty claims from the belligerent powers is no other than the rules already prescribed to the french marine, the execution of which is maintained with an exactitude known and applauded by all Europe.

The liberty of neutral veſſels, reſtrained only in a few caſes, is the direct conſequence of neutral right, the ſafeguard of all nations, and the relief even of thoſe at war. The king has been deſirous, not only to procure a freedom of navigation to the ſubjects of the empreſs of Ruſſia, but to thoſe of all the ſtates who hold their neutrality, and that upon the ſame condition as are announced in the treaty to which his majeſty this day anſwers.

His majeſty thought he had taken a great ſtep for the general good, and prepared a glorious epocha for his reign, by fixing, by his example, the rights which every belligerent power may, and ought to acknowledge to be due to neutral veſſels. His hopes have not been deceived; as the empreſs, in avowing the ſtricteſt neutrality, has declared in favour of a ſyſtem which the king is ſupporting at the price of his people's blood, and as her majeſty adopts the very ſame rights as he would wiſh to make the baſis of the maritime code.

If freſh orders were neceſſary to prevent the veſſels of her imperial majeſty from being diſturbed in their navigation by the ſubjects of the king, his majeſty would immediately give them; but the empreſs will no doubt be ſatisfied with the diſpoſitions made by his majeſty in the regulations he has publiſhed. They do not depend on circumſtances alone, but are founded on the law of nations, and entirely agreeable to a prince who finds the happineſs of his own kingdom in that of the general proſperity. The king wiſhes her imperial majeſty would add to the means ſhe has fixed to determine what merchandiſes are reckoned contraband in times of war, preciſe rules to be inſerted in the form of the ſea-papers with which the ruſſian ſhips will be furniſhed.

With this precaution, his majeſty is aſſured nothing will happen to make him regret the having put the ruſſian navigators on as advantageous a footing as can be in time of war. Fortunate circumſtances have more than once occurred to prove to the two courts how important it is for them to explain themſelves freely relative to their reſpective intereſts.

His majeſty is very happy to have explained his way of thinking to her imperial majeſty upon a point ſo intereſting to Ruſſia, and to the trading powers of Europe. He the more ſincerely applauds the principles and views of the empreſs, as his majeſty

majeſty partakes of the ſame ſentiments which have brought her majeſty to adopt ſuch meaſures, as muſt be to the advantage of her own ſubjects, and of all other nations.

Verſailles, April 25, 1780.

ANSWER *from the* KING *of* SPAIN, *to the* DECLARATION *of the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA.

THE king, being informed of the empreſs's ſentiments with reſpect to the belligerent and neutral powers, by a memorial remitted to the compte de Florida Blanca, on the 15th inſt. by Mr. Stephen Zinovief, miniſter from her imperial majeſty: the king conſiders this as the effect of a juſt confidence which his majeſty has on his part merited; and it is yet more agreeable that the principles adopted by this ſovereign ſhould be the ſame as have always guided the king, and which his majeſty has for a long time, but without ſucceſs, endeavoured to cauſe England to obſerve, while Spain remained neuter. Theſe principles are founded in juſtice, equity, and moderation; and theſe ſame principles Ruſſia and all the other powers have experienced in the reſolutions formed by his majeſty; and it has been entirely owing to the conduct of the engliſh navy, both in the laſt and the preſent war, (a conduct wholly ſubverſive of the received rules among neutral powers,) that his majeſty has been obliged to follow their example; ſince the Engliſh, paying no reſpect to a neutral flag, if the veſſel be laden with effects belonging to the enemy, even if the articles ſhould not be contraband, and that flag not uſing any means of defending itſelf, there could not be any juſt cauſe why Spain ſhould not make reprifals, to indemnify herſelf for the great diſadvantages under which ſhe muſt otherwiſe labour. The neutral powers have alſo laid themſelves open to the inconveniences they have ſuffered, by furniſhing themſelves with double papers, and other artifices to prevent the capture of their veſſels: from which have followed captures and detentions innumerable, and other diſagreeable conſequences, though in reality not ſo prejudicial as pretended; on the contrary, ſome of theſe detentions have turned to the advantage of the proprietors, as the goods, being ſold in the port where they were condemned, have frequently gone off at a higher price than they would have done at the place of their deſtination.

The king, nevertheleſs, not contented with theſe proofs of his juſtification, which have been manifeſted to all Europe, will this day have the glory of being the firſt to give the example of reſpecting the neutral flag of all the courts that have conſented, or ſhall conſent, to defend it, till his majeſty finds what part the engliſh navy takes, and whether they will, together with their privateers, keep within proper bounds. And to ſhew to all the neutral powers how much Spain is deſirous of obſerving the ſame rules in time of war as ſhe was directed by whilſt neuter, his majeſty conforms to the other points contained in the declaration of Ruſſia. To be underſtood, nevertheleſs, that, with regard to the blockade of Gibraltar, if the danger of entering ſubſiſts, as determined by the fourth article of the ſaid declaration. Theſe dangers may, however, be avoided by the neutral powers, if they conform to thoſe rules of precaution eſtabliſhed by his majeſty's declaration of the 13th of laſt March, which has been communicated to the court of Peterſburg by his miniſter.

FLORIDA BLANCA.

At Aranjuez, 18 *April* 1780.

DECLARATION *of the* KING *of* DENMARK *and* NORWAY, *to the* COURTS *of* LONDON, VERSAILLES, *and* MADRID.

IF the moſt exact and perfect neutrality, with the moſt regular navigation, and the moſt inviolable reſpect to treaties, could have exempted the commerce of the ſubjects of the king of Denmark and Norway from the inroads of the powers with whom he is at peace, and kept it free and independent, it would not be neceſſary to take meaſures to inſure to his ſubjects that liberty to which they have the moſt incontrovertible right. The king of Denmark has always founded his glory, and his grandeur, upon the eſteem and confidence of other nations. It has been his rule, from the beginning of his reign, to teſtify to all the powers, his friends, a conduct the moſt capable of convincing them of his pacific intentions, and of his deſire to contribute to the general happineſs of Europe. His proceedings have always been conformable to theſe principles, againſt which nothing can be alleged; he has, till now, only addreſſed himſelf to the powers at war, to obtain a redreſs of his grievances; and he has never wanted moderation

deration in his demands, nor acknowledgments when they have received the ſucceſs they deſerved: but the neutral navigation has been too often moleſted, and the moſt innocent commerce of his ſubjects too frequently diſturbed; ſo that the king finds himſelf obliged to take proper meaſures to aſſure to himſelf and his allies the ſafety of commerce and navigation, and the maintenance of the inſeparable rights of liberty and independence. If the duties of neutrality are ſacred, the law of nations has alſo its rights avowed by all impartial powers, eſtabliſhed by cuſtom, and founded upon equity and reaſon. A nation independent and neuter does not loſe by the war of others the rights which ſhe had before the war, becauſe peace exiſts between her and all the belligerent powers. Without receiving or being obliged to follow the laws of either of them, ſhe is allowed to follow, in all places, (contraband excepted,) the traffic which ſhe would have a right to carry on, if peace exiſted with all Europe, as it exiſts with her. The king pretends to nothing beyond what the neutrality allows him. This is his rule, and that of his people; and the king cannot accord to the principle, that a power at war has a right to interrupt the commerce of his ſubjects. He thinks it due to himſelf, and to his ſubjects the faithful obſervers of theſe rules, and to the powers at war themſelves, to declare to them the following principles, which he has always held, and which he will always avow and maintain, in concert with the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, whoſe ſentiments he finds entirely conformable with his own.

I. That neutral veſſels have a right to navigate freely from port to port, even on the coaſts of the powers at war.

II. That the effects of the ſubjects of the powers at war ſhall be free in neutral veſſels, except ſuch as are deemed contraband.

III. That nothing is to be underſtood under the denominations of contraband, that is not expreſsly mentioned as ſuch in the third article of his treaty of commerce with Great Britain, in the year 1670, and the twenty-ſixth and twenty-ſeventh articles of his treaty of commerce with France, in the year 1742; and the king will equally maintain theſe rules with thoſe powers with whom he has no treaty.

IV. That he will look upon that as a fort blocked up, into which no veſſel can enter without evident danger, on account of veſſels of war ſo ſtationed there as to form an effectual blockade.

V. That theſe principles ſhall ſerve for rules in law proceed-

ings, and that juſtice ſhall be expeditiouſly rendered, by the maritime regulations, conformably to treaty and uſage received.

VI. His majeſty does not heſitate to declare, that he will maintain theſe principles with the honour of his flag, and the liberty and independence of the commerce and navigation of his ſubjects; and that it is for this purpoſe he has armed a part of his navy, although he is deſirous to preſerve, with all the powers at war, not only a good underſtanding, but all the friendſhip of which the neutrality can admit. The king will never recede from theſe principles, unleſs he is forced to it: he knows his duties and his obligations, he reſpects them as he does his treaties, and deſires no other than to maintain them. His majeſty is perſuaded, that the belligerent powers will acknowledge the juſtneſs of his motives; that they will be as averſe as himſelf to doing any thing that may oppreſs the liberties of mankind, and that they will give their orders to their admiralty and to their officers, conformably to the principles above recited, which tend to the general happineſs and intereſt of all Europe.

Copenhagen, July 8, 1780.

DECLARATION *of the* KING *of* SWEDEN *to the ſame* COURTS.

EVER ſince the beginning of the preſent war, the king has taken particular care to manifeſt his intentions to all Europe. He made it his duty to obſerve a perfect neutrality; he fulfilled all that it required, with the moſt ſcrupulous exactitude; and in conſequence of this, he thought himſelf entitled to all the prerogatives naturally appertaining to the qualification of a ſovereign perfectly neuter. But notwithſtanding this, his commercial ſubjects have been obliged to claim his protection, and his majeſty has found himſelf under the neceſſity of granting it to them.

To effect this, the king ordered laſt year a certain number of men of war to be fitted out. He employed a part of theſe on the coaſts of his kingdom, and the reſt ſerved as convoys for the ſwediſh merchant-ſhips in the different ſeas which the commerce of his ſubjects required them to navigate. He acquainted the ſeveral belligerent powers with theſe meaſures, and was preparing to continue the ſame during the courſe of this year, when other courts, who had likewiſe adopted a perfect neutrality, communicated

cated their ſentiments to him, which the king has found entirely conformable to his own, and tending to the ſame object.

The empreſs of Ruſſia cauſed a declaration to be delivered to the courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid, in which ſhe acquainted them of her reſolution to protect the commerce of her ſubjects, and to defend the univerſal rights and prerogatives of neutral nations. This declaration was founded upon ſuch juſt principles of the laws of nations and the ſubſiſting treaties, that it was impoſſible to call them into queſtion. The king found them entirely concordant with his own cauſe, and with the treaty concluded in the year 1666, between Sweden and France; and his majeſty could not forbear to acknowledge and to adopt the ſame principles, not only with regard to thoſe powers with whom the ſaid treaties are in force, but alſo with regard to ſuch others as are already engaged in the preſent war, or may be involved therein hereafter, and with whom the king has no treaties to appeal to. It is the univerſal law; and when there are no particular engagements exiſting, it becomes obligatory upon all nations.

In conſequence thereof, the king declares hereby again, "That "he will obſerve the ſame neutrality, and with the ſame exac- "titude as he has hitherto done. He will enjoin all his ſub- "jects, under rigorous pains, not to act in any manner whatever "contrary to the duties which a ſtrict neutrality impoſes unto "them; but he will effectually protect their lawful commerce, "by all poſſible means, whenever they carry on the ſame, con- "formably to the principles here above mentioned."

EXPLANATION *which the* COURT *of* SWEDEN *has demanded, relative to the Propoſal which the* COURT *of* RUSSIA *has made for the reciprocal Protection and Navigation of their Subjects.*

I. HOW and in what manner a reciprocal protection and mutual aſſiſtance ſhall be given?

II. Whether each particular power ſhall be obliged to protect the general commerce of the whole, or if in the mean time it may employ a part of its armament in the protection of its own particular commerce?

III. If ſeveral of theſe combined ſquadrons ſhould meet, or, for example, one or more of their veſſels, what ſhall be the rule of

of their conduct towards each other, and how far shall the neutral protection extend?

IV. It seems essential to agree upon the manner in which representations shall be made to the powers at war, if, notwithstanding our measures, their ships of war or armed vessels should continue to interrupt our commerce in any manner. Must these remonstrances be made in the general name of the united powers, or shall each particular power plead its own cause only?

V. Lastly, it appears essentially necessary to provide against this possible event, where one of the united powers seeing itself driven to extremities against any of the powers actually at war, should claim the assistance of the allies in this convention to do her justice; in what manner can this be best concerted? A circumstance which equally requires a stipulation, that the reprisals in that case shall not be at the will of such party injured, but that the common voice shall decide: otherwise an individual power might at its pleasure draw the rest, against their inclinations and interests, into disagreeable extremities, or break the whole league, and reduce matters into their original state, which would render the whole fruitless and of no effect.

ANSWER *of the* COURT *of* RUSSIA.

I. AS to the manner in which protection and mutual assistance shall be granted, it must be settled by a formal convention, to which all the neutral powers will be invited; the principal end of which is to insure a free navigation to the merchant-ships of all nations. Whenever such vessel shall have proved from its papers, that it carries no contraband goods, the protection of a squadron or vessels of war shall be granted her; under whose care she shall put herself, and which shall prevent her being interrupted. Hence it follows:

II. That each power must concur in the general security of commerce. In the mean time, the better to accomplish this object, it will be necessary to settle, by means of a separate article, the places and distances which may be judged proper for the station of each power. From that method will arise this advantage, that all the squadrons of the allies will form a kind of chain, and be able to assist each other; the particular arrangement to be confined only to the knowledge of the allies, though the conven-

tion,

tion, in all other points, will be communicated to the powers at war, accompanied with the ſincereſt proteſtations of a ſtrict neutrality.

III. It is undoubtedly the principle of a perfect equality, which muſt regulate this point. We ſhall follow the common mode with regard to ſafety. In caſe the ſquadrons ſhould meet and engage, the commanders will conform to the uſages of the ſea ſervice, becauſe, as is obſerved above, the reciprocal protection, under theſe conditions, ſhould be unlimited.

IV. It ſeems expedient, that the repreſentations mentioned in this article be made by the party aggrieved; and that the miniſters of the other confederate powers ſupport thoſe remonſtrances in the moſt forcible and efficacious manner.

V. We feel all the importance of this conſideration; and, to render it clear, it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the caſe.

If any one of the allied powers ſhould ſuffer itſelf to be drawn in by motives contrary to the eſtabliſhed principles of a neutrality and perfect impartiality, ſhould infringe its laws, or extend their bounds, it cannot certainly be expected that the others ſhould eſpouſe the quarrel; on the contrary, ſuch a conduct would be deemed a dereliction of the ties which unite them. But if the inſult offered to one of the allies ſhould be hoſtile to the principles adopted and announced in the face of all Europe, or ſhould be marked with the character of hatred and animoſity, inſpired by reſentment, againſt theſe common meaſures of the confederacy, which has nothing elſe in view than to make, in a preciſe and irrevocable manner, laws for the liberty of commerce, and the rights of every neutral nation, then it ſhall be held indiſpenſable for the united powers to make a common cauſe of it, (at ſea only,) without its being a ground-work for other operations, as theſe connections are purely maritime, having no other object than naval commerce and navigation.

From all that is ſaid above, it evidently reſults, that the common will of all, founded upon the principles admitted and adopted by the contracting parties, muſt alone decide; and that it will always be the fixed baſis of the conduct and operations of this union. Finally, we ſhall obſerve, that theſe conventions ſuppoſe no other naval armament than what ſhall be conformable to circumſtances, according as thoſe ſhall render them neceſſary, or as may be agreed. It is probable that this agreement, once ratified and eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, will be of the greateſt conſequence; and that the belligerent powers will find in it ſufficient motives to perſuade them to reſpect the neutral flag, and prevent their provoking the reſentment of a reſpectable communion, founded under the auſpices of the moſt evident juſtice, and the ſole idea of which is received with the univerſal applauſe of all impartial Europe.

No. XV.

COPY *of the* MARITIME TREATY *between the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA *and the* KING *of* DENMARK, *acceded to by the* KING *of* SWEDEN *and* STATES-GENERAL *of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

ART. I. THEIR reſpective majeſties are fully and ſincerely determined to keep upon the moſt friendly terms with the preſent belligerent powers, and preſerve the moſt exact neutrality: they ſolemnly declare their firm intention to be, that their reſpective ſubjects ſhall ſtrictly obſerve the laws forbidding all contraband trade with the powers now being, or that may hereafter be, concerned in the preſent diſputes.

II. To prevent all equivocation or miſunderſtanding of the word contraband, their imperial and royal majeſties declare that the meaning of the ſaid word is ſolely reſtrained to ſuch goods and commodities as are mentioned under that denomination in the treaties ſubſiſting between their ſaid majeſties and either of the belligerent powers. Her imperial majeſty abiding principally by the Xth and XIth articles of the treaty of commerce with Great Britain; the conditions therein mentioned, which are founded on the right of nations, being underſtood to extend to the kings of France and Spain; as there is at preſent no ſpecific treaty of commerce between the two latter and the former. His daniſh majeſty, on his part, regulates his conduct in this particular by the firſt article of his treaty with England, and the XXVIth and XXVIIth of that ſubſiſting between his ſaid majeſty and the king of France, extending the proviſions made in the latter to the catholic king; there being no treaty *ad hoc*, between Denmark and Spain.

III. And

III. And whereas by this means the word *contraband*, conformable to the treaties now extant, and the ſtipulations made between the contracting powers, and thoſe that are now at war, is fully explained; eſpecially by the treaty between Ruſſia and England of the 20th of June 1766; between the latter and Denmark, of the 11th of July 1670; and between their daniſh and moſt chriſtian majeſties, of Auguſt 23d, 1742; the will and opinion of the high contracting powers are, that all other trade whatſoever ſhall be deemed and remain free and unreſtrained.

By the declaration delivered to the belligerent powers, their contracting majeſties have already challenged the privileges founded on natural right, whence ſpring the freedom of trade and navigation; as well as the right of neutral powers; and being fully determined not to depend in future merely on an arbitrary interpretation, deviſed to anſwer ſome private advantages or concerns, they have mutually covenanted as follows:

Firſt, That it will be lawful for any ſhip whatever to ſail freely from one port to another, or along the coaſt of the powers now at war.—2dly, That all merchandiſe and effects belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid belligerent powers, and ſhipped on neutral bottoms, ſhall be entirely free; except contraband goods —3dly, In order to aſcertain what conſtitutes the blockade of any place or port, it is to be underſtood to be in ſuch predicament, when the aſſailing power has taken ſuch a ſtation, as to expoſe to imminent danger any ſhip or ſhips that would attempt to ſail in or out of the ſaid ports.—4thly, No neutral ſhips ſhall be ſtopped without a material and well-grounded cauſe: and in ſuch caſes juſtice ſhall be done to them without loſs of time; and beſides indemnifying, each and every time, the party aggrieved, and thus ſtopped without ſufficient cauſe, full ſatisfaction ſhall be given to the high contracting powers, for the inſult offered to their flag.

IV. In order to protect officially the general trade of their reſpective ſubjects, on the fundamental principles aforeſaid, her imperial, and his royal majeſty have thought proper, for effecting ſuch purpoſe, each reſpectively to fit out a proportionate quota of ſhips of war and frigates. The ſquadron of each of the contracting powers ſhall be ſtationed in a proper latitude, and ſhall be employed in eſcorting convoys according to the particular

ticular circumſtances of the navigators and traders of each nation.

V. Should any of the merchantmen belonging to the ſubjects of the contracting powers, fail in a latitude where ſhall be no ſhips of war of their own nation, and thus be deprived of the ſaid protection; in ſuch caſe, the commander of the ſquadron belonging to the other friendly power ſhall, at the requeſt of ſuch merchantmen, grant them ſincerely and *bona fide* all neceſſary aſſiſtance. The ſhips of war and frigates of either of the contracting powers ſhall thus protect and aſſiſt the merchantmen of the other: provided nevertheleſs, that under the ſanction of ſuch required aſſiſtance and protection, no contraband be carried on, nor any prohibited trade, contrary to the laws of the neutrality.

VI. The preſent convention cannot be ſuppoſed to have any relative effect; that is to extend to any differences that may have ariſen ſince its being concluded: unleſs the controverſy ſhould ſpring from continual vexations which might tend to aggrieve and oppreſs all the nations of Europe.

VII. If, notwithſtanding the cautious and friendly care of the contracting powers, and their ſteady adherence to an exact neutrality, the Ruſſian and Daniſh merchantmen ſhould happen to be inſulted, plundered, or captured by any of the armed ſhips or privateers belonging to any of the belligerent powers: in ſuch caſe the ambaſſador or envoy of the aggrieved party, to the offending court, ſhall claim ſuch ſhip or ſhips, inſiſting on a proper ſatisfaction, and never neglect to obtain a reparation for the inſult offered to the flag of his court. The miniſter of the other contracting power ſhall at the ſame time, in the moſt efficacious and vigorous manner, defend ſuch requiſition, which ſhall be ſupported by both parties with unanimity. But in caſe of any refuſal, or even delay in redreſſing the grievances complained of; then their majeſties will retaliate againſt the power that ſhall thus refuſe to do them juſtice, and immediately agree together on the moſt proper means of making well-founded repriſals.

VIII. In caſe either of the contracting powers, or both at the ſame time, ſhould be in any manner aggrieved or attacked, in conſequence of the preſent convention, or for any reaſon relating thereto; it is agreed, that both powers will join, act in concert

concert for their mutual defence, and unite their forces in order to procure to themſelves an adequate and perfect ſatisfaction, both in regard to the inſult put upon their reſpective flags and the loſſes ſuffered by their ſubjects.

IX. This convention ſhall remain in force for and during the continuance of the preſent war; and the obligation enforced thereby, will ſerve as the ground-work of all treaties that may be ſet on foot hereafter: according to future occurrences, and on the breaking out of any freſh maritime wars which might unhappily diſturb the tranquillity of Europe. Meanwhile, all that is hereby agreed upon ſhall be deemed as binding and permanent, in regard both to mercantile and naval affairs, and ſhall have the force of law in determining the rights of neutral nations.

X. The chief aim and principal object of the preſent convention being to ſecure the freedom of trade and navigation, the high contracting powers have antecedently agreed, and do engage to give to all other neutral powers free leave to accede to the preſent treaty, and, after a thorough knowledge of the principles on which it reſts, ſhare equally in the obligations and advantages thereof.

XI. In order that the powers, now at war, may not be ignorant of the ſtrength and nature of the engagemants entered into by the two courts aforeſaid; the high-contracting parties ſhall give notice, in the moſt friendly manner, to the belligerent powers, of the meaſures by them taken; by which, far from meaning any manner of hoſtility, or cauſing any loſs or injury to other powers, their only intention is to protect the trade and navigation of their reſpective ſubjects.

XII. This convention ſhall be ratified by the contracting powers, and the ratifications interchanged between the parties in due form, within the ſpace of ſix weeks from the day of its being ſigned, or even ſooner, if poſſible. In witneſs whereof, and by virtue of the full powers granted us for the purpoſe, we have put our hands and ſeals to the preſent treaty.

Given at Copenhagen, July the 19th, 1780.

(Signed) CHARLES D'OSTEN, called SOKEN.
J. SCHACK RATLAU.
A. P. COMPTE BERNSTORF.
O. THOFT.
H. EIKSTEDT.

Acceded to, and ſigned by the plenipotentiaries of the court of Sweden, at Peterſburg, the 21ſt of July 1780, and by the ſtates-general accepted Nov. 20, 1780, and ſigned at Peterſburg, January 5, 1781, with the addition only of article

XIII. If the reſpective ſquadrons, or ſhips of war, ſhould meet or unite, to act in conjunction, the commander in chief will be regulated according to what is commonly practiſed between the crowned heads and the republic.

No. XVI.

MEMORIAL *from the* EMPRESS *of* RUSSIA *to the* STATES-GENERAL.

High and Mighty Lords!

NO ſooner had her imperial majeſty been informed of the Britiſh ambaſſador's ſudden departure from the Hague, than, without waiting for any further explanation, guided only by the friendſhip and good-will ſhe bears to the two contending powers, and awakened by the alarming tendency of a meaſure ſo detrimental to their mutual welfare and tranquillity, ſhe directed her miniſter in London to make the moſt earneſt repreſentations to that court, to prevent, if poſſible, the matter being carried to any extremity, and to recommend the moſt conciliating meaſures; offering at the ſame time to promote them as far as was in her power. Although her majeſty has not yet heard of any anſwer from the ſaid court, ſhe has ſome reaſon to think that the overtures made by her have been favourably received. In conſequence whereof, her imperial majeſty does not heſitate to give a freſh proof of her good intentions for bringing about a reconciliation between the two powers, whom ſhe equally ſupports, and who have lived ſo long in that natural and perfect harmony which beſt ſuits their reſpective intereſts, by offering them, in form, her ſervices and mediation, for the purpoſe of putting an end to that diſcord and war which has lately broke out between them.

While monſieur de Simolin, her imperial majeſty's miniſter at the

the court of London, is fulfilling her commands on this head; the underwritten has the honour to acquit himself of the same task here with their high mightinesses, and to assure them of the zeal and readiness he wishes to have an opportunity to display, in forwarding the desirable work of restoring the said states to their wonted peace and tranquillity. That disinterestedness, impartiality, and benevolence, which have hitherto stamped every action of her imperial majesty, are equally conspicuous in the present instance.

The wisdom and prudence of your high mightinesses will easily distinguish those sacred characteristics, and dictate the answer which the underwritten shall transmit to his imperial mistress, as a proof of his having executed her commands.

(Signed) LE PRINCE DE GALLITZIN.

Hague, March 1, 1781.

No. XVII.

MEMORIAL *of* PRINCE GALLITZIN *and* MONS. DE MARKOF, *Ministers of the* EMPRESS *of all the* RUSSIAS, *presented to the* STATES-GENERAL; *with Mr. Secretary* FOX'S *Letter to* MONS. SIMOLIN, RUSSIAN *Minister at the Court of* LONDON.

THE underwritten, joint ministers of the empress of all the Russias, in consequence of the orders given them to accelerate as much as in them lies, the salutary work of the mediation entrusted to her imperial majesty, think it their duty to lose no time to communicate to your high mightinesses a copy of a letter written to mons. Simolin, their sovereign's minister at the court of London, by Mr. Fox, secretary of state to his britannic majesty. It will convince your high mightinesses of the intentions of his britannic majesty to be sincerely reconciled to the republic, on the conditions by yourselves established, in your resolution of the 14th ult. by which you again accept of the empress's mediation; the preliminary concession, made on the part of Great Britain, concerning the principal article of the treaty

of 1674, seems to level all the obstacles which had hitherto prevented your entering upon a negotiation for a final peace. If, in the interim, the proposal made in the said letter, of a suspension of hostilites, should be thought conformable to the interests of the nation, nothing could be more so to the principles of humanity in general, which actuate the empress, and to her private sentiments, of benevolence and affection for this state; especially as such a measure has the double advantage of preventing the useless effusion of blood; and from this instant restoring to the republic, the enjoyments of the rights of freedom in trade and navigation, which fall to the share of neutral nations, and especially those that have acceded to the principles of the armed neutrality.

Full of confidence in the disposition equally peaceful, and conformable to the real welfare of the state, which your high mightinesses have always manifested in the most solemn and positive manner; the underwritten flatter themselves, that you will not hesitate to make a proper use of the letter they have the honour to communicate, in order to take a quick and decisive resolution, that may tend to restore peace and harmony with your old friend and ally, upon terms as honourable as they are advantageous.

(Signed) P. GALLITZIN.
MARKOF.

Copy *of the Letter alluded to in the above* MEMORIAL.

HAVING laid before his majesty an extract of the letter which you did me the honour, sir, of communicating from prince Gallitzin, and mons. de Markof, I have his majesty's commands to inform you, that the king, desirous of testifying his intentions towards their high mightinesses, and of renewing that friendship which has been so unfortunately interrupted between old allies, who ought to be united in the bonds of mutual interest, is ready to enter into a negotiation, for the purpose of setting on foot a treaty of peace, on the terms and conditions of that which was agreed to in 1674, between his majesty and the republic; and that the better to facilitate the execution of a plan which his majesty has so much at heart, the king is willing to give immediate orders for a suspension of hostilities, if, on their

part, the lords the ſtates-general ſhould think ſuch a meaſure ſuitable to the object in view.

I am commanded by his majeſty to explain to you, ſir, his ſentiments on ſo important a ſubject, and deſire you will impart the ſame to the miniſters of her imperial majeſty to their high mightineſſes, that they may be conveyed, without the leaſt delay, to the miniſters of the republic; being of opinion that it is the moſt convenient ſtep, with the mediation and good offices of her imperial majeſty, to put an end to the ſcourge of that war which unfortunately ſubſiſts between the two nations.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) C. J. Fox.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

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